

THE TRUDEAU STORM

Maclean's



SAY IT AIN'T SO

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Injury
Sidelines
Hockey's
Superstar —
Perhaps For
Good**

**The L.A. Kings'
Wayne Gretzky**





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*Based on manufacturer's suggested retail price for 4-door model in the mid-range economy. Excludes taxes, title, license, and optional equipment. See dealer for details.

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COVER

SAY IT AIN'T SO

In his remarkable career, hockey superstar Wayne Gretzky has always seemed able to beat the odds—and the competition. But the Ontario native, who lives in Los Angeles, now faces the possibility of forced retirement because of a herniated disc in his back. While Gretzky attempts his rehabilitation, his fans and teammates face the prospect of life without the Great One.

— 32

CANADA

THE TRUDEAU STORM

Since Maclean's published an essay by Pierre Trudeau last week, in which he derided Quebec nationalists as "blackmailers," his views have vaulted to the forefront of the constitutional debate. Some prominent Canadians welcomed his entry into the fray; others denounced him as yesterday's man.

— 28



BUSINESS

BANKING ON UNITY

*The Royal Bank of Canada released a controversial study, *Unity or Diversity? An Economic Analysis of the Benefits and the Costs*, which tries to assess the price to Canadians if Quebec secedes from Confederation. Other business leaders react; not all are expected to speak out again before the Oct. 26 vote.*



FRIDAY NIGHT AT YOUR FAVORITE SPOT



COME IN FOR A FINE V.O. LATERALUS

Network insults

Thanks are due to you for reinforcing the notion I have long held: that the goal of network television programming is to insult the masses, which is to result in the withdrawal of the viewer ("Believing youth," *Teleview*, Aug. 31). The network, once and profane treatment of everything from teen angst to handy values signs of contempt for ideology contrary to their own. Not everyone among

their quaternary market share is a Democrat, or socialist or a willing libertine. That they think we can be seduced by such sleazy offerings is a serious affront to our society.

Rhys Atwell
Guelph, Ont.

Future shock

I was stunned when I read your article about Bob Rae's plan for a social revolution in Ontario ("Bob Rae's revolution," *Canoe*, Sept. 14). Was this Madonna I was reading, or

George Orwell's 1984? When I caught my breath, I thought about the complete and utter failure of similar attempts at social engineering in the world, especially in the former Soviet Union. I was then both reassured and confused. Reassured because I knew that Ontarians will not long tolerate the kinds of shenanigans proposed by Rae and his supporters. Confused because, given the historical record, I had to ask why they would even try.

Greg Roberts
Leithbridge, Alta.

'Get rid of the lot'

I used to be an airline pilot—until age 66, that is. Not through choice, I am now among the unemployed, or retired, if you will. However, I consider myself fortunate compared with the younger generation of my trade and thousands of others in this country who face a bleak employment future with no hope of a golden street. Consequently, it makes my blood boil to read of the idea of Senator Ed Lawson and his ilk who expect to receive the annual salary of \$74,508 and age 75 ("The costs of a new Senate," *Canoe*, Sept. 7). Rae what? Triple B Senate my foot. Get rid of the lot; what we do not need is another expensive eating place for politicians. When will this country realize that we can never, as we are, compete internationally, shackled by the cost of climate and bureaucracy, crippled by taxation and too many layers of expensive government? Surely we do not have to carry these people on our backs as well!

J. H. Petheringham,
Calgary, Ont.

Illusions of honesty

Barbara Aron writes vividly of a time when politicians had to have "dash, nerve, wit and superiority" ("Barbara Aron seeks public office," *Canoe*, Sept. 14). But did we really get leaders with such qualities, or only the "illusions of them created by lying, lust, greed? Move probing into "neoliberalism" and "vulnerabilities" might have opened us some of the pain caused by prime ministers who are prejudiced, uncommitted to civil liberties, callous to heart or carriers of truth. The media gives two lies answers, but we should seek more rather than settle, as Aron does, the "emotional honesty" it helps to reveal.

Jeffrey Bernard
Scarborough, Ont.

Victims of greed

I was appalled at Allan Fotheringham's perception of the "exhausted" athletes using steroids ("Men in suits demand a deadly price," *Canoe*, Sept. 7). He paints a bleak picture of these poor folks who were abused by



"I'm waiting for it to fall away, but it's saying 'you're not getting away from me.' ABS is a great idea."

TERESA KASZUBA
Receptionist
Hamilton, Ontario

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LETTERS

their coaches. When Mr. P.T. Tasse athletes cheered at their grief to be successful and wealthy. Ben Johnson deserved to lose his \$20 million in endorsements. He deserved a second chance, too, but he showed how worthy he was in the Olympics this summer. John Kordic was trying for a high-paying job beating people up. Maybe if he had sought a more honorable profession that was less in the psychology department, he would not have had to pay such a terrible price. Perhaps it is time for a rethink

to a positive, healthy attitude like Silvio Lazzarini's. She was not the fastest, not tried to be the fastest, yet he had the respect and admiration of an international audience. Johnson and Kordic could have had the same. They were not victims.

Care Gustafson,
Sandy B.C.

Once again, Allen Fotheringham is sitting on his throne and waiting off another human being. If Fotheringham had an appreciation for high-level sports, he would know Johnson's asking it to the Olympics after losing out of

international competition for more than two years is a success story. Johnson did not flop at the Olympics. His sport did not sink him. Think back how back into the international arena. He went back without the drugs and made it into the same finals. The only one who is now dead and missing Ben Johnson is Fotheringham—condemning us history to make it seem like nothing even. It is true that John Kordic lost his life in a world of drugs, but Johnson still has a life. Let him get on with it.

Gloria Lowe,
London, Ont.

Paying the piper

I sympathize very much with people who cannot find employment. However, I am sick to death of hearing about couples who spite the husband then disappearing into the woodwork and the responsibility to provide for the children left to the mother and the taxpayer ("The down-out-out," *Teleview*, Sept. 14). When are we ever going to take these men to task and have them support their families? I am fed up being taxed to the left—let us get after these guys.

Elizabeth Farley,
Toronto

'Sleaze journalism'

The presumptuous color commentator from Charles Gordon's column "The triumph of the superior" (Sept. 7) not only disturbed me, it scared me. It is Gordon's belief that Canadian politics and the Canadian media will fall into a neat little line behind our American counterparts and degenerate into a mirror image of our neighbors. I cannot accept those views. The standards of Canadian journalism are among the best in the world and it is because of this fact that only personal scandals do not become major issues. Canadians want to know the real stories, and the Canadian media, in my opinion, will continue to give them what they want. Perhaps Gordon should worry less about sleaze journalism and concentrate on reporting the news.

Stephen Buzic,
London, Ont.

The whole picture

Thank you for a well-written and accurate account of the Montreal shootings ("Deaths in a classroom," *Critic*, Sept. 7). As a former underdog athlete and graduate student of the department, I have frequently been annoyed by the inaccuracies, omissions and failure to recognize the relevant facts in other press articles, as I am moved to complement you for your professional reporting.

W. Michael Larking,
Victoria, B.C.

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Backroom politics,
referendum battles
and a lecture
on female power



At a fundraising luncheon for the Canadian Red Cross, the Reverend Desmond Tutu in Toronto last week, celebrity author Jeanne Tripplehorn delivered a rousing lecture titled "Women Who Thru." Tripplehorn, whose marriage and subsequent divorce from rock estate tycoon Donald Trump made headlines around the world, spoke of the importance of having values on the role of women at home and in the business world, intermingled with such words of wisdom as, "Stop and smell the roses," and, "It's not what you lose—but how you deal with it that counts." And she took time to promote her new line of dance jewelry, costing 200 winners who paid up to \$250 a pair. Tripplehorn left clearly unimpressed: "You expect about her sex or milks?" one disappointed woman told *Weekend Update*. "I came here to hear about the Donald," said another bored listener. "Women who thru?" asked a third, bored, older woman. "Women who thru?" asked a fourth, and so it went.

Federal Liberal organizers are becoming increasingly worried about the likelihood of messy nomination battles during the run-up to next year's anticipated election call. Already, a pro-life group that calls itself Liberals for Life has targeted more than a dozen ridings in the Toronto area. The first skirmish occurred last week in Toronto, where Liberal star candidate Doug Peters, 62, a former vice-president of The Toronto-Dominion Bank, narrowly fought off a pro-life challenger in the riding of Scarborough East North. The anti-abortion forces are targeting

their attention to other battlegrounds. Dan McCash, a 45-year-old composer-synthesizer specialist and national coordinator of Liberals for Life, plans to run in the Toronto riding of Etobicoke/Lakeshore, but riding officials say that he is unwelcome. McCash is appealing two convictions for assault arising out of a 1987 protest at Dr. Henry Morgentaler's Toronto abortion clinic. McCash, however, insists that he has no reason to be ashamed of his record. "Whatever happened at Morgentaler's," he adds, "I would say a badge of honor."

The baby boomers are doing it again. First they overflowed school classrooms, then their rock music took over the airwaves. Now, the leading edge of the boomers has raised middle age. And once again marketing experts are trying to tap into their unique desires, attitudes, and

- Gail Sheehy's book about menopause, *Silent Passages*, has stayed near the top of the nonfiction charts for four months.
- Levi Strauss & Co. has introduced "boise fitting" jeans.
- Crest toothpaste, whose ingredients

als once featured classic children's products. "Look ma, no cribs," now promotes itself as preventing root cribs, which result from reducing room space.

- **The General Dead**, the 23-year-old San Francisco rock band, was the top touring band in North America last year, earning \$37 million from concerts. But Jerry Garcia, the group's punchy, grey-haired lead guitarist, is on no condition to take advantage of the band's enduring popularity. Garcia, who recently launched his own line of neckties, is suffering from exhaustion and has had to cancel several concerts.

- Demand for cosmetic surgery has increased 70 per cent since 1981. The two fastest-growing procedures could life and lead to breast cancer.

- Fitness clubs, noting that members are not turning away from boot-camp-style workouts, are offering an even greater choice of so-called low-

- These include waltzing dancers, aquatic dancers in the pool, and

- step machines, which simulate climbing stairs.
- Gardening is the fastest-growing leisure-time activity, followed by housework.

- **Over-the-counter reading glasses**, for those whose eyesight has drifted upward but who do not wish to wear prescription glasses, have gone up 50¢ and now sport such designers' labels as Anne Klein and Perry Ellis.
- **Cannibalizing financial institutions** held \$416.5 billion in Registered Retirement Savings Plans, up from \$12.5 billion in 1980.

Top movies in Canada, ranked according to box-office receipts during the seven days ending Sept. 24 (in brackets: number of screens / week showing)	
1. <i>Snatchers</i> (103/70)	\$844,222
2. <i>Captain Ron</i> (29/12)	\$602,300
3. <i>Simple</i> (73/1)	\$488,848
4. <i>School Zoo</i> (53/1)	\$412,585
5. <i>Blindfold and Women</i> (54/1)	\$396,005
6. <i>Homecoming in Vegas</i> (61/4)	\$377,776
7. <i>Single White Female</i> (87/9)	\$351,824
8. <i>Diagnosis</i> (86/7)	\$289,052
9. <i>Wind</i> (71/3)	\$182,311
10. <i>Sister Act</i> (54/17)	\$82,394

RECEIVED 17 FEBRUARY 1975



the long-standing friendship between Manitoba Liberal Leader Sherrin Cochrane and federal Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien may be one of the early victims of the Oct. 26 midwestern campaign, as two politicians have been close since 1986, when Cochrane, then a member of the Progressive Conservative Party, met Chrétien over the organizing of Chiffelin's 1986 tour of the midwest. Cochrane soon rose to western support in his run for the party leadership, and he returned the favor in 1988 when he helped Chrétien to his seat in the Manitoba legislature. But although Chrétien is now campaigning for the constitutional agreement, Cochrane opposes it, and he has been vocal in his criticism of Chrétien's Minister of Rights and Freedoms. As a result, Chrétien does not plan to meet Cochrane when he tours Manitoba during the campaign, as the Manitoba Liberal Leader claims that their friendship is at risk. "Surely I will not change his mind," and Cochrane "is self-righteous," Chrétien says. "I don't think I can change his mind, but I will try to get him to reflect on what he's doing on paper and in the

[illegible]

APPOINTED: Campbell Soup Co. Ltd. chairman David Clark, 53, as chairman and publisher of the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, effective on Oct. 26, by Thomson Newspapers president Michael Johnston. Clark is changing careers when advertising-dependent media are undergoing extreme fire. Clark: "Organizations that are not tightly focused or of consumers—readers and advertisers in the case of newspapers—are doomed to die." Clark will succeed A. Ray Megaw as plans to work for the international relief agency.



DIED: U.S. Gen. James A. Van Fleet, 190, at his home in Fort City, Pa. A machine-gunner during the First World War, Van Fleet led major campaigns during the Second World War and played a crucial role in the 1945 Allied invasion of Europe.

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ANOTHER VIEW



How to survive the referendum

BY CHARLES GORDON

THIS JUSTICE, The Edmonton Federation of Central Nova Scotia has said it will support the Oct. 26 referendum. However, the Fernie Association of Garden-Wilding has urged its members to vote No, saying that the proposed accord does not go far enough for forests. And the Sir Edmund Hillary Club of Saskatchewan has said that it will boycott the referendum in protest over the fact that mountain climbers were not allowed to sit at all the table.

Meanwhile, the National Coalition of Anti-Furrah Rights (NCAFR) has urged a No vote because the accord gives too much to Quebec. In a related development, the Quebec Coalition of Second-Function (CQSF) has urged a No vote because the accord gives too little to Quebec. However, the CQSF says that if the rest of Canada votes No as well, that will mean that the rest of Canada has turned its back on Quebec. In such a case, Quebec should then turn its back on the rest of Canada, in order not to have its feelings hurt by having to look at the rest of Canada's back at all the time.

If none of this seems tedious to you, you have entered into the spirit of the referendum debate. Long since past any consideration of the details of the accord we will be voting on Oct. 26, instead, we are asked to make note of the latest yes- and nay-sayers as they weigh in daily with releases in the press or are invited before the cameras by the main organizers of the Yes and No campaigns.

When there are no credible commentators in the media, we are made to look at the odds, at which times are new cast each day heading to the polls, saying that they don't know anything or they know everything, depending upon what they say, given the misadventures in the campaign much way of not talking about the substance of the accord. If our lack of habits, we may be able to get all the way to Oct. 26 and beyond without anyone really knowing what the accord contains.

Charles Gordon is a columnist with The Ottawa Citizen.

We are like blind men trying to define an elephant. The Yes-No debate is farce, nothing but.

The suspicion is that very few people understand the consequences of many provisions—such as the revised Senate and the ministerial class at power—and many people don't understand the substance of some of the recommendations—such as native self-government, never mind what those recommendations mean.

It is a serious, that most of the discussion is on the possible consequences of the Yes or the No. We can all agree about that much, since it is just a question of using our imagination.

And what do our imaginations tell us? Many warnings and contradictory things. That Quebec will be hurt and go away if all parts of the country don't welcome the accord. Underlying this is the rather stupid assumption that jobs and referendum results are the only things Quebec knows about the rest of the country.

That the rest of the country will give up on Quebec as they say No. This assumes that the referendum is the only way Canadians can express their feelings towards Quebec, and omits the fact that Canadians are also expected, at the same referendum, to express their feelings about the Senate, the distribution of powers, native people, the West and a whole

batch of other stuff, including how much we like the idea of having referendums at all and how we feel about mountain climbers being kept away from the table.

More positively, and intriguingly, that a Yes vote will enable us to put the Constitution behind us and move on to other things, such as the economy.

That a No vote will enable us to get the Constitution aside and move on to other things, such as the economy.

If amusement were allowed, it would be amusing to ponder the fact that both sides are claiming a vote for them will mean we can stop talking about the Constitution—in one case by putting it behind us, in the other by putting it to one side. For some of us there is little down to this. Do we want the Constitution behind us or beside us?

It is less amusing to consider some of the implications. If we all talk about the Constitution as much, think how much happens or all sales would be if it were never started it in the first place. Thanks again, Pierre Trudeau.

If we add to all the ambiguous utterances and apocalyptic cross-pressing forth about the referendum the fact that the results are not binding on anyone, we have a clear case as to how we should view it. It is farce, nothing but. With regard to the agreement, Canadians, all 27 million of us, are like the proverbial blind men walking around the elephant trying to define it. Tell the blind men to vote Yes or No on the elephant and you have a pretty good picture of our situation.

Meanwhile, solemn words come from our political leaders and opinion leaders, gathered in unlikely alliances—Bibi Rae and Brian Mulroney, Judy McEwen and Jean-Pierre Gauthier. "Never mind who else is on my side," they say. "Vote my way or the country dies. And by the way, the referendum is not binding on anyone."

Surely, we can survive this. We have survived knots and drought. We have survived wars, depression. Every year we survive cold and snow. We have survived living next door to the United States. Surely, we will not let this ludicrous script ruin it all.

If we are to survive it, we have to put it in perspective, as it is an unnecessary and laughable episode in a history of public apathy. The referendum process is a history device that has been played since a structure that doesn't need it. Since we have legislatures and elections, federal and provincial, there are no number of opportunities for the voice of the people to be heard on the desk. But the federal government and the provinces have, in their wisdom, decided that a referendum will help.

That wasn't wisdom at all. What the referendum process does, as we are seeing, is put groups against groups, recently against minority, each crying out, "What can it be?" To a package that is—of necessity—definite, we add a process that encourages the worst.

Going into the future based about what we don't get to see is to go into the future. We need a better chance of surviving the referendum and of what we expect it to be the end of the world and not the end of the country either.



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Waters and the Constitution in Vancouver this week.

Another prominent No supporter in Liberal party left-Gordie Wilson. But not everyone in Wilson's caucus shares his doubts of the second Wilson renounced Liberal MLA Art Cowie, a vocal supporter of the deal, from his post as caucus chairman last week, while the future of another Yes supporter, Liberal lawyer David Macdonald, is uncertain. Scott Wilson: "The caucus has taken a neutral position not to approve the package. I do not expect any member of our caucus will be campaigning in any formal sense, in the Yes campaign." At the same time, the Liberal leader and that neither he nor any other MLA in his 16-member caucus would be into any orchestrated provincial or national No campaign because the agendas of some of the members are agendas that I don't agree with."

At week's end, the shape of the province's Yes campaign became clearer with the announcement of a tri-party committee led by Jerry Langert, a prominent local Conservative and former Social Credit official, the NDP's Herb Brown, a long-time local organizer, and Liberal David McPhee, a member of that party's national executive. For his part, Turner said that his own Quebec policy association will devote its Oct. 9 national fund-raising to the referendum. He added: "It's going to be a big, big deal, open to everyone in the island. That will be our main event on this one."

For now, the race appears to be too close to call. Although the final street survey, conducted by the Angus Reid Group between Sept. 22 and 24, indicated that 58 per cent of British Columbians were opposed to the accord, with only 34 per cent in favor, the polling firm cautioned that unusually large numbers of voters were answering on the question of their first decision. Indeed, Yes organizers are expressing concern and saying that one of their principal aims will be to rally their supporters. □



Meaning: testing the party machinery

federal Justice Minister Kim Campbell, set for Vancouver Centre. "That's the unknown quantity. The concern is that maybe people are more likely to vote if they are on the No side, because the strength of feeling among them appears to be stronger."

For his part, the Reform party's candidate in Quadra, Dr. William McArthur, 56, said that he

plans to hold a meeting at a local high school this week to assess how many of the party's 1,000 paid-up riding members support the No vote. Earlier, Manning told supporters that the referendum campaign will give the party an opportunity to test its organization in the riding in advance of next year's anticipated federal general election.

McArthur, a former Royal Canadian Air Force fighter pilot who won British Columbia's first chief constable, freely acknowledges that his party's strength in Quadra is uncertain. "To get out the vote, you have to identify who is going to support you," he said. "We have to know who's going to show, how many of the 1,000 voters are really going to be knocking on the doors, doing the phoning. We do know that our people are politically unapologetic. Many of them do not even understand the concept of getting out the vote."

The Yes forces face an equally daunting challenge: the need to co-ordinate the activities of dozens of groups and political organizations who have spent years working at cross-purposes, towards a common goal. To succeed, they will have to put aside partisan interests—as well as any personal enmities they may have about the Charterists around Grant, at Toronto of Canada, and that as a lawyer he is "not perfectly pleased with the accord—I don't think anyone is." But he said that he supports the agreement as an "honorable compromise," adding that he expects the campaign in British Columbia to be driven. "I think we are going to feel here and in the rest of English Canada that Quebecers felt in the 1980 provincial referendum (on sovereignty-associated)." Grant said: "I think there is going to be a real tearing at the heart of the campaign outside." Those strains will likely be at issue in British Columbia as anywhere in the country outside of Quebec.

RAL QUINN in Vancouver

FORGETTING TO SAY 'OUI'

The glaring omission left Yes organizers frustrated and embarrassed—and may transpire as a costly error. The morning ceremonies launching the constitutional referendum's national steering committee in Ottawa last week featured banners and letterheads with the words "Canada Connexion/Cannex du Canada" in small letters and, in large print, the word "oui." There was no accompanying "Oui." The lack of French wording provoked angry front-page headlines in Quebec newspapers, denunciations from both federalists and sovereigntists—and apparently led to the resignation of the Yes Committee's media relations officer Isabelle Hudon, who quit her position the following day without explanation.

In trying to account for the mistake, Yes organizers pointed out that studies of focus

groups showed that bilingual signs had a more favorable impact than bilingual ones. As a result, they had ordered separate "Oui" and "Oui" posters, as well as some bilingual signs. But only the "Oui" posters were ready to take for the launch. Faced with a choice between English-only posters or none at all, the organizers chose the former. That decision, critics of one organizer, "was a horrible, bloody mistake." The two francophones among the seven committee leaders were equally blunt. Michel Bastarache, a francophone businessman from New Brunswick, said that the decision showed "an incredible lack of respect," while Michelbeil lawyer Yves Fassiné, a former Canadian ambassador to the United Nations, called it a "monumental error."

Most of the criticism arose in Quebec, where the national Yes campaign is not active. The province will hold its own referendum on Oct. 30, although even the rest of Canada's Quebecers will be asked to vote for or against the Charterists constitutional accord. But the posters and the speeches by Premier Robert Bourassa

and others at a similar, provincial Yes committee launching ceremony in Montreal last week were entirely in French.

That led to private complaints from some Quebec Yes organizers—particularly because one recent poll done for the Yes side showed that support for the constitutional project among anglophone Quebecers now stands at a surprisingly low 72 per cent. But at least one prominent Quebec anglophone Yes supporter remained unmoved by the controversy over language. Scott Robert Keaton, president of the English-rights group Alliance Quebec and a member of the provincial Yes Committee: "I cannot believe that people do not have bigger things to worry about than whether one word is translated into two languages." Given the fragile sensibilities of Canada's two largest linguistic groups, it was clear that many people on both sides did not agree.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Ottawa



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CANADA

were most hotly debated. Premier Robert Bourassa was one of the first to react, issuing a warning about the former prime minister's disruptive potential. "Trudeau contributed to the toppling of Meach Lake," said Bourassa. "And you see all the political and economic problems that caused in Canada." Even some of Trudeau's colleagues in Quebec tried to set themselves apart from his comments. Said Montrealer Paul Marois, a former Liberal leadership contender: "This constitutional accord was not the fruit of blackmail."

As well, Mulroney, too, raised the solemnity of his criticism. At first, the Prime Minister, who was in Vancouver to officially launch the Yes campaign, had no immediate comment on the essay. But a day later, he called Trudeau's opinions "propagandistic." Mulroney pointed out that although Trudeau was complaining that Quebec has received too many concessions at the accord, the former prime minister himself had granted a huge concession to the province. Said Mulroney: "Trudeau is the father of the 'notwithstanding' clause, which gave the provinces the right to override the Supreme Court of Canada."

And in Mulroney attacked Trudeau, Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien pointedly reminded Canadians that he, and not Trudeau, is the leader of the Liberal party. At the same time, other politicians used Trudeau's essay to advance their own No position. Manning and that he agreed with Trudeau's claim that the current constitutional package will not appease Quebec nationalists. But speaking in Vancouver, Manning added that when he makes similar comments, he is accused of being anti-French. Declared Manning: "Now, others who take a No position can't be accused of just being anti-Quebec."

Meanwhile, other politicians were clearly divided over what impact Trudeau's essay will ultimately have on the referendum campaign. For his part, Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, who joined with Trudeau to oppose the Meach Lake constitutional accord two years ago, supported the former prime minister. Said Wells, who supports the current accord: "Nationalism in Quebec are going to maintain their nationalist position. Trudeau is quite correct."

But Saskatchewan Premier Ray Chanos, a veteran of constitutional negotiations with Trudeau, said that the Mulroney lawyer and academic is misguided. He added that although Canadians agreed with Trudeau's criticism of the Meach Lake deal, compromises on a number of issues make the Chrétien-Trudeau agreement very different from Meach Lake. Declared the premier: "This time around, I think that public opinion will not line up as strongly as the last." But whether Canadians agree with Trudeau, he clearly gained their attention. And *Le Devoir* publisher Luc Bouchette wrote: "The day Quebec ceases warring more, when there is no more tension with Canada, will be the day when the price of the century comes."

TOM FENKELL with BARRY CANE in Montreal

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CANADA

Burying the past

Jean Chrétien is a 100-per-cent Yes man

Although Jean Chrétien's federal Liberals enjoy a commanding lead in national opinion polls, the party faces potential disaster over Chrétien's support of the Charlottetown constitutional accord. That position was delightfully reinforced by former prime minister Pierre Trudeau's essay in Maclean's last week in which he attacked the notion of making any constitutional concessions to Quebec nationalists. In his fourth-floor office in Parliament Hill, Chrétien, sitting behind the desk once used by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, glides for more than an hour last week to Maclean's Editor Kenne Doyle and Ottawa Bureau Chief Anthony Wilson-Smith. Excerpts.

Maclean's: Some federal Liberals privately say that it is impossible to agree with most of the ideas Pierre Trudeau raised in his Maclean's essay, but still vote Yes. Do you agree with the tone of Trudeau's remarks?

Chrétien: I just say that the statement he made is that if you put your hat on as a lawyer, you can argue that case [that Trudeau made]. For me, I had a problem with the metaphor of Quebec as a distinct society. Now, that is defined and is in the Canada clause, so I can live with it. Trudeau says that it is an obvious fact that Quebec is a distinct society, but that it should have been in the preamble of the Constitution. For me, it's not a perfect deal. But it is the only deal we have.

Maclean's: What do you say to English Canadians who agree with Trudeau's assertion that it does not matter what you give to Quebec, because Quebec nationalists will always ask for more?

Chrétien: It depends on who is the prime minister. We are stuck with a problem that did not need to be re-opened. It Maclean's had shut upon 1987, and not opened that Pandora's box, we would not be where we are. In 1987, Quebecers were spending all their time talking about these young entrepreneurs of firms who were taking over the world. Then, Mulroney opened the second, and that led to March 14th and so on. I went to turn the page on that. I say that when Mulroney does not have the Constitution any more, we will have him asked on the economy, and that will not be a pretty sight.

Maclean's: Will Trudeau's intervention divide the Liberal party more than might have been the case?

Chrétien: I do not know. But we have made a decision to vote Yes, and that is it.

Maclean's: What will you do if a Liberal MP breaks ranks?



Chrétien: "It is not a perfect deal, but it is the only deal."

Chrétien: They know that the party has decided. That is it. It is like an election. You can hate a candidate who is running, but support him if you want your party to win.

Maclean's: What constitutes the acceptable margin of victory for the Yes side?

Chrétien: Canada is fundamentally four big regions. There is a tremendous loss if there is a fifth one developing in British Columbia and the North. But in any vision it is four big, different regions—and a majority [in each of those regions] would suffice.

Maclean's: What is your assessment of the deal?

Chrétien: The government did not fight hard enough for an economic union of provinces, and they did not get it. I also always said that equality in the Senate would come at the expense of its effectiveness, and that is exactly what happened. But this deal is like a house. You stay like the dining room, the living room, the bedroom, and hate the backyard. Well, you have to wake up your mind whether you are taking the whole house.

Maclean's: Is the possibility of inadvertently helping Mul-

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CANADA IS TURNING TO NU-LIFE...

A major policy change

Ottawa will spend billions on public works

The small community of Saseen in south-central New Brunswick has at one of the most congested highway junctions in the nation. The mining and dairy-farming centre of 4,100 people is situated on the mostly two-lane Trans-Canada Highway, the province and the region's major highway. Saseen also marks the starting point of Highway 1, another largely two-lane thoroughfare that leads southwest from the Trans-Canada to Saint John and then to St. Stephen, the region's principal port to the United States. Sen-Simon Mayor Marcelle Fries: "The traffic through here is terrible. It's not safe and the highway is deteriorating." For years, Saseen town council has lobbied the federal and New Brunswick governments to widen the highway—efforts that may soon be rewarded. As revealed earlier by Marcelle's Ottawa visit to announce a huge federal-provincial public-works project, they would lead to spending of up to \$28 billion over 10 years. At least \$2 billion of that will be spent in New Brunswick—and will include widening both the Trans-Canada and Highway 1 to four lanes. Still Fries: "It is huge money for us." It's the last word.

About \$14 billion will be spent on a coast-to-coast upgrading of 24,500 km of the national highway system. The sum may double if Ottawa decides to include in the program funding for a fund-link bridge from New Brunswick to Prince Edward Island and other agreements to the nation's transportation infrastructure such as repairing and upgrading airport runways. The massive spending would be a bold attempt to stimulate Canada's recovery from a severe economic—while sparking a sea change in the federal Conservatives' policy of spending restraint. It could also play a role in the constitutional debate. The program may be announced before the Oct. 26 referendum—and presented as concrete evidence of the benefits of national unity. But, said Gerry Gow, vice-president of the transportation lobby group Transport 2000 Canada, who is opposed to the plan. "This is political pump priming."

Liberal transport critic John Manley made a similar observation. "I have no doubt that this has everything to do with the referendum—or a future election," he said. But he added, "I can't criticize them for doing something that we have been urging them to do." Provincial officials, who with their federal counterparts have been planning the program since 1987, also want that as upstroke of the country's beleaguering highway system in long overdue. And they say that a recession is the best time to begin. For one thing, the project could create as many as 156,000 man-years of employment over a decade, with huge spillover benefits. For another,

BC Transportation Minister Arthur Chabot says that there are begins to be had. "The contractors are hungry," Chabot says. "We will get more bids per dollar. Now is the time to do it."

Proponents of the program point out that there will be other benefits, as well. According to a 1989 federal-provincial study, improved roads could reflect by 1998 the approximately 4,600 highway fatalities that occur every year. As well, the report noted that an enhanced highway system would give a boost to Canada's tourism industry by providing travel within the country as well as from the United States. It would also help Canadian businesses by improving access to markets both within Canada and the United States. And better highways would result in reduced transportation costs, which the report said would increase "The competitiveness of Canadian industries."

Says Fred Morley, a senior economist with the Ottawa-based Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, "If this had come a couple of years ago, we probably wouldn't be in this stalled recovery. The bug for the back for this stuff is almost insurmountable."

For the federal government, the highway program certainly represents a left turn. Ottawa traditionally has not put for highway con-



Highway 1 near Saint John, N.B.: spending up to \$28 billion over 10 years

struction, although it covered 58 per cent of the cost of building the Trans-Canada Highway and is responsible for the building and maintenance of highways in national parks. And, since coming to power in 1984, the federal Conservatives have repeatedly emphasized the need for fiscal restraint in their war on the national deficit. As recently as Feb. 25, when he tabled his 1992-1993 budget, Prime Minister Donald Macdonald declared: "Governments do not have the capacity to inject massive stimulus into the economy." Macdonald did leave the door open for highway improvements. But, he said bluntly: "We cannot get out of a hole by digging deeper."

That position has clearly changed. Macdonald's last remark that the program will apply to highways that are classified as being "of national significance." While those 24,500 km of highways represent less than three per cent of Canada's total road network, they still carry more than one-quarter of all traffic in the nation. Included are 5,500 km in British Columbia, 4,600 km in Ontario, 3,800 km in Alberta and 2,900 km in Quebec. These roads will undergo improvements ranging from simple resurfacing to widening and rebuilding. In addition, 800 of the network's 2,500 bridges will be repaired or rebuilt.

Manley's has also returned that British Columbia, Ontario, Alberta and New Brunswick would each require improvements costing about \$2.2 billion. For Quebec, the estimate is \$3.4 billion; and for Nova Scotia about \$880 million. Saskatchewan and Manitoba would each require about \$660 million, while Newfoundland's costs would be about \$338 million and Prince Edward Island's \$290 million, with \$108 million for the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Still, critics say that the project will entail

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THE HIGHLIGHTS

Over the past two years, federal, provincial and Aboriginal leaders have consulted with thousands of Canadians and special interest groups from coast to coast. These consultations included Royal Commissions, participatory conferences, parliamentary hearings and hearings in the provinces and territories held by provincial and territorial legislatures. Federal, provincial, territorial and Aboriginal leaders have agreed unanimously on a package of constitutional proposals that recognizes the equality of all Canadians and represents all at our interests. The agreement is now before Canadians.

A Social and Economic Union

The agreement proposes that the new Constitution would contain a statement of key economic and social objectives shared by all of the governments in the federation. The objectives include comprehensive, universal, primary, secondary and publicly administered health care, adequate social services and benefits, high quality primary and secondary education and reasonable access to post-secondary education, collective bargaining rights and a commitment to

protecting the environment. The economic policy objectives to be enshrined would be aimed at strengthening the Canadian economy, ensuring the free movement of persons, goods, services, and capital, ensuring full employment and a reasonable standard of living for all Canadians, ensuring sustainable and equitable development.

Avoiding Overlap and Duplication

Exclusive provincial jurisdiction would be recognized in the areas of forestry, mining, tourism, housing, recreation, municipal affairs, cultural matters within the province, and labour market development and training, in addition. To ensure the two levels of government work in harmony, the government of Canada commits to negotiate agreements with the provinces in areas such as immigration, regional development and telecommunications. Federal-provincial agreements in any industry could be protected by the Constitution from unilateral change.

As was the case in the Meech Lake agreement, the new Canadian Constitution would recognize the distinct nature of

Distinct Society

Quebec, based on its French language, unique culture and civil law tradition. In the reformed Parliament, the Senate would reflect the equality of the provinces while the House of Commons would be based more on the principle of representation by population. As well, Quebec would be assured a minimum 25% of the seats in the House of Commons.

The proposed Senate would be made up of six elected senators from each province and one from each territory. Historical seats would provide representation for Aboriginal peoples. The reform Senate's powers should significantly increase the role of the elected Senators in the policy process.

The proposals recognize that Aboriginal peoples have an inherent right to self-government and that the Constitution should enable them to develop self-government arrangements

Aboriginal Self-Government

and to take their place in the Canadian federation. The proposals recognize Aboriginal governments as one of the three constitutionally recognized orders of government in Canada. In addition, the proposals

provide for a negotiation process between Aboriginal leaders and provincial and federal governments to put this right into effect. The recognition of the inherent right would not create any new rights to land.

Now that Canada's federal, provincial, territorial and Aboriginal leaders have reached a consensus, it is the right of all Canadians to understand the new proposals. Call the toll free number below to receive an easy-to-read booklet on the new constitutional agreement in a complete text.

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Canada





Right-wing riots in Rostock, Germany: attacks on foreigners have aroused a wariness among Germany's neighbors

WORLD

EUROPE IN CRISIS

On the aptly named Café de l'Europe in central Paris, the banner headlines gleaming from the local newsstands told the story. "The tiny Yes," proclaimed *Le Quotidien de Paris* while *France Soir* declared "It's Yes, by a whisker." Inside, a 40-year-old civil servant named François Crochet declared his morning column that his call to let and explained that he had voted Yes to the Maastricht treaty on closer European union. "So while sure France keeps a strong voice in Europe," he said at the same time, "another note with a satisfied smile that his countryman's verdict in their referendum could hardly have been closer—just 51.05 per cent approved the deal, with 48.95 per cent opposed. "Let's see how they did with that," he concluded.

"They" are Europe's political leaders, and they were scrambling last week to deal with

FRENCH VOTERS' 'TINY YES' HAS EFFECTIVELY STOPPED EUROPE'S UNITY MOMENTUM IN ITS TRACKS

the fallout from the French voters' grudging approval of their master plan for the continent's future. Coming on the heels of the massive monetary meltdown of the previous week, when speculators forced Britain, Italy

and Spain to devalue their currencies, France's "tiny Yes" effectively stopped the unity project on its tracks. The new task for Europe's hobbled leaders was to salvage what they could from the wreckage. And as they groped for a way out of the European Community's gravest crisis in its 25-year history, the outlines of a new, humbler vision of Europe could be seen, less grandiose, more pragmatic and more democratic.

Certainly, leaders of all political stripes rushed to proclaim their adherence to the new orthodoxy of caution, step-by-step policy-making. The near-defeat of the Maastricht treaty in France, which has traditionally been the heartland of pro-EU thinking, amounted to a strong blow to members of the country's political elite, who had repeatedly endorsed the treaty. Christianed politicians acknowledged that the era of building European institutions

by bureaucratic fiat was over. Even Jacques Delors, who as president of the European Commission became the continent's leading symbol of bureaucratic invasiveness, admitted that "we will have to walk to be sure tomorrow, more sensitive to our citizens."

There were more immediate effects, as well. Following the vote, currency speculators who a week earlier had lambasted the British pound, Italian lire and Spanish peseta, turned their attacks on the French franc. France was forced to raise interest rates and dig deeply into its \$22-billion foreign-exchange reserves to support its currency. Germany's powerful Bundesbank played support for the French currency was clear signal of Germany's determination to maintain the close link between the deutschmark and the franc. A break in that link would shatter what remains of Europe's currency system. Worse, it would deeply undermine the close alliance between Germany and France, the bedrock upon which the European Community was founded in 1957.

France's backlash against Brussels nearly killed the treaty outright. In Germany, itself, parliament is scheduled to start debating the treaty in early October. Both Kohl's ruling Christian Democrats and the opposition Social Democrats back the deal, but public opinion there is also swinging away from rapid European union. According to a poll published last week in the German weekly newspaper *Stern*, the vast majority of Germans would support the Maastricht treaty, and almost three-quarters opted to giving up the rock-hewn deutschmark in favor of a new and untested Euro-currency. Even pro-government newspapers have started to temper their support for the treaty, calling for new negotiations with a German politician. Kohl has so far ruled out such a vote.

But it is from Britain that the earliest and sharpest new challenges to the treaty will come. The British have long been known as the "honest broker" among European statesmen, rising upon slippery ones over the crisis. Britain's new prime minister, James Callaghan, the Earl of Liverpool, has been asked to construct some sort of "United States of Europe." While Margaret Thatcher was prime minister in the 1980s, she ruled against plans for a "European superstate," and in 1987 her government led central Britain to the ambitious proposal to create a single European market by the end of 1992. Thatcher's opposition to further European integration largely contributed to her political downfall in 1990, when pro-Europeanism in her own Conservative party engineered her resignation and her party leader by John Major. Major took a more positive attitude towards Europe and eventually signed the Maastricht deal last December, although he was careful to negotiate opt-out clauses for

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Germany also acted alone when it moved earlier this year to recognize the independence of the breakaway Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia, against the wishes of Britain and France. In turn, the Bonn government believes that Britain and France have all but abandoned Germany to cope with the huge number of refugees who are fleeing the Balkans. And the recent right-wing riots in several German cities, with vicious attacks on immigrants, have aroused a wariness among many Europeans about Germany just as it is starting to fix its economic and diplomatic muscle. Signs of anti-Germanism were evident during the currency crisis, when Major publicly blamed German policy for the debacle.

Despite their vows to press on with the treaty, it became increasingly unlikely that the deal will ever go into effect—at least as its present form. Under its terms, the Maastricht treaty must be ratified by all 12 EU states before it becomes law, and the leaders originally agreed that should take place by the end of 1992. Denmark's No vote on June 2 had already made meeting that deadline impossible, and France's hesitant Yes quickly fueled opposition elsewhere.

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PEYOT'S RETURN

Supping that he needs a month to get July 26 out of his head, the president-elect, Texas businessman Ross Perot appeared to be ready to reinitiate his campaign this week. Polls show that he still has the support of 12 to 20 per cent of Americans and is as healthy on the ballot as any of 50 straws. But Edward Rollins, Perot's former campaign manager, said Perot was "overwhelmed by 'madness and selfishness.'"

COLLIER'S LAST STAND

Obstruction tactics in Brazil's congress seemed to be President Fernando Collor de Mello's last hope for holding onto office, after his legislative agenda is held up by impeachment proceedings called. Private prosecution forces prepared to vote this week to ouster Collor from the presidency for six months, while he faces charges that he bribed them to influence legislation.

SERVENKOV'S SACRIFICE?

Two former defense secretaries from the Soviet administration told a Senate committee that captured American soldiers in Laos and Vietnam were knowingly left behind after the American withdrawal in 1973. James Schlesinger and Melvin Laird said that the White House had been eager to extricate itself quickly from the war in order to deal with the growing Watergate scandal. But Henry Kissinger, President Richard Nixon's secretary of state, rejected that suggestion, saying that although he had suspected that Americans were held captive after the war, he never had direct evidence.

AN AFFAIR TO REMEMBER

Dennis's cultural heritage secretary David Miller, known as the "big dog" in "the master of the" resigned after a three-month battle for political survival. The battle revealed last July that the ambassador Miller had an extramarital affair with a woman who was a member of a well-known Washington family. Miller's resignation was a surprise to many in the Conservative party, as he had been a strong supporter of the party's policies. Miller's resignation was a surprise to many in the Conservative party, as he had been a strong supporter of the party's policies.

NAVAL GAZING

A Pentagon report scathingly criticized the U.S. navy for having outdated attitudes towards women, and said that navy officers tended to ignore anti-discrimination laws. The report, which was issued last week, said that 35 out of 140 officers, at a 1991 navy symposium in Las Vegas,

Britain on some of its most contentious chapters, including the proposed single currency.

But as the Maastricht treaty unraveled, so-called "Euro-skeptic" in Major's own ranks were emboldened. And the prime minister himself had lost strength with his decision on Sept. 16 to announce course on the pound, abandoning the link to the German mark as the European Monetary System, as speculation drew down the value of the British currency. Major, as Thatcher's finance minister in 1990, took Britain into that monetary system. Britain forced to withdraw and let the pound devalue by 11 per cent against the mark amounted to a huge blow both to Major's economic policies and to his personal credibility. "His own self-confidence has taken a battering," said John Barnes, a political scientist at the London School of Economics.

Thatcher herself, who since June has held a seat in the House of Lords as Baroness Thatcher, quickly issued her own 14-fold pay-so verdict in a speech in Washington: "If you try to lock the market," she declared, "the market will back you." In Britain, her co-thinkers in the Tory party also seemed gleeful. Norman Tebbit, a sometime Thatcherite minister who also now sits in the Lords, compared the Maastricht treaty to the infamous "dead parcel" slot by the Monty Python comedy troupe. "They may try to nail it to the post again," crowed Tebbit, "but nobody will believe that it is still alive."

Other Tory dissidents, led by new Michael Spicer and William Cash, organized new opposition to the treaty and backed it with the backing of an issue as high as the 504 Conservative MP. Outside Parliament, even the normally loyal Tory tabloid papers pressed Major to give British voters a chance to pass their own verdict on European unity under the banner headline "Let our people vote." The Sun declared: "The Queen had a vote. The Irish had a vote. The French had a vote. It's a disgrace that our people are denied that right."

Major fought back against his critics last week during a Commons special session on the issue. Cutting the session's link to the mark made it possible for Britain to drop its interest rates by one point to 9 per cent, he noted, and to try to lift the economy out of recession. But Major will face renewed criticism from within his own ranks when his Tory party holds its

annual conference next week, where Thatcher is expected to address a meeting of like-minded Conservatives.

In the meantime, Major bridged his betwixt continuing to proclaim support for the Maastricht deal, his aides made it clear that he was in no hurry to bring the treaty back to the Commons for final approval. Among other things, Britain will wait for Denmark to explain

French people gave Mitterrand a very clear message, and the opinion polls are giving Kohl a very clear message," said a close aide to Major. "The message is getting through to these people, so I think we're peering on an open door."

Most analysts now believe that parts of the Maastricht deal will be adopted by all members, while only a few states proceed with the most contentious measures—such as a single currency. One widely discussed scenario would involve the six core countries—Germany, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg—moving quickly towards common money, while Britain, Italy and the rest retained their own currencies. Such a "two-tier" structure, in it is known in Europe, has long been resisted by its leaders. But analysts such as Albert Breussard, director of the Paris think tank FRONTHILL, say that it may now be inevitable. "It does need to be a negative thing," Breussard said last week. "All the countries move at different speeds on different matters."

And despite the EC's woes, almost no one in Europe questions the community's foundations in the November 1957 Treaty of Rome, or the 1987 amendments to it which opened the way for sweeping away remaining obstacles to the free movement of goods, services and people throughout the EC's market of 320 million consumers. The single-market program, which aims to do the greatest deregulation drive ever attempted, is more than 90 per cent completed and is still due to complete its effect on Jan. 1. The irony, notes Paul Taylor, a specialist in international relations at the London School of Economics, is that the single market is already bringing more change to western Europe than envisaged by the Maastricht Treaty—*but not* by the acronym. "The really radical changes were introduced by the single market," he said last week. And the EC remains its attraction for those on the outside, almost every other country in Europe has applied for membership. The latest news means that the community they eventually join will almost certainly be larger and more flexible than some of its more visionary architects once hoped.

Other countries indicated that they might seek changes or additions to the treaty. Given the widespread anger at the power of the remote EC bureaucracy, there may be an attempt to better define the areas where Brussels should get involved and those that should remain the exclusive domain of national governments.

British officials made it clear that they intend to use the Danish and French referendum results as ammunition to press other governments to stay in the power of the British commission. "Forty-one per cent of the



Kohl (left), Mitterrand salvaging what they could from the wreckage

CHRISTIAN GALT



NANA AND ARTHUR.

ONE
ON
ONE

My favourite time with Arthur is our run, four kilometres, first thing every morning.

It's amazing how we run in unison.

Even at home, wherever I am in the house, he's never more than a few steps away.

He's just so full of love, and all he wants out of life is to be loved back.

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THE UNITED STATES

Vietnam's dark shadow

Clinton weathers attacks on his draft record

Riding a wave of popular support in the wake of last year's victory in the Persian Gulf War, President George Bush seemed poised to win re-election. After two decades of national soul-searching that followed a disastrous U.S. adventure in Southeast Asia, the crushing defeat of Iraq by the coalition commanders involved in deserting. "By God, we've kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all!" And as they turned out in overwhelming numbers to welcome home Desert Storm veterans, flag-waving Americans seemed confident that their leaders had actually managed to exorcise the ghost of Vietnam. But as this year's race for the White House enters its closing weeks and Bush trails badly in the polls, Republicans are again invoking the specter of the longest war in U.S. history—a divisive conflict that claimed 57,339 American lives.

In an attempt to undermine the popularity of the incumbent, William Clinton, the Bush campaign has unveiled efforts to challenge the credibility of the 46-year-old Arkansas governor for failing to fully disclose how he escaped military service during the Vietnam War. But as Bush and his supporters, including Vice-President Dan Quayle, continued last week to urge Clinton to "come clean" on his draft avoidance, it seemed that their offense was falling.

An *ABC News*/Washington Post poll released on Sept. 22 showed that as the Bush campaign pressed the draft issue, Clinton had refused his bid to 33 to 37 per cent, compared with a 54 to 30-per-cent gap just a week earlier. Only 16 per cent of respondents said that they considered the draft to be a pivotal issue—compared with 32 per cent who cited the economy. And in extensive interviews around the United States, Clinton's supporters found little sign that the Republican strategy was working. It is just a big deal," said Governor Strauss, 42, an air force veteran from Kansas City, Kan., who served in Vietnam in 1969 and 1970. "Everybody is saying, 'Let's talk about the economy, let's forget what happened 20 years ago.'"

According to statements from the Bush team, what is at issue is not whether Clinton, who acknowledges that he opposed the unpopular war, purposely tried to avoid military service. Rather, they claim, the candidate's evasive accounting of how he avoided the draft calls his trustworthiness into question.

Clinton has offered a number of explanations of how he escaped going to Vietnam, proposing allegations that he knowingly withheld information about his draft record. Until last February, he had stated that while he was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University in 1968,

he was briefly available for the draft but was lucky enough not to be called. But extensive media investigations forced Clinton to concede that he secured a draft deferment that he had never previously acknowledged. This deferment resulted from a complex series of events, which included making a commandment—wholly at Clinton's own behest—to stand in a Reserve



Clinton with officers at National Guard Association meeting; voters were unswayed by Republican tactics

Officers Training Corps program at the University of Arkansas, and evading the help of family and friends. *The Los Angeles Times* also reported that Clinton personally lobbied the senior draft board official in Arkansas to have no army induction notice issued.

Contrasted with the military experience of Bush—a former Navy fighter who was shot down in the South Pacific during a 1944 bombing mission—Clinton's suspension has left some Americans to question his fitness to serve as commander-in-chief. "I want someone in the White House who knows what he is doing," said George Rombach of New Orleans, who was a private during the Second World War. Added Dennis Boleas, a 30-year-old Vietnam veteran from La Jolla, Pa.: "I would have to see someone running our country who did not serve in the military. I think for people who have served, it will always be on their mind."

Still, many Americans who did serve in Vietnam doubt whether Clinton's draft record will not influence their vote. Bob Hess, 44, a retired senior lieutenant colonel who was at

Vietnam in 1972, recalled that his university roommate drove to a draft physical with the top down on his convertible to induce an instant attack. Said Hess, who now lives in Lansing, Mich.: "It didn't bother me at the time and quite frankly it doesn't bother me now."

Dyer Shannon, 45, who served as an army captain in Vietnam in 1968 and 1969, said that "the name of the game back then" was "to try to get a deferment." "Unlike the Second World War when the entire country was committed, Vietnam was obviously a gossamer web," he declared. "If you were called, you served, but if you had a choice, you deferred." And John Landwehr of Monroe Valley, Calif., said that although he eventually had to serve in the army in El Paso, Tex., "I tried to get out of it as much as I could." "Nobody wanted to go."

According to Richard Speiser, a historian at George Washington University who is an ex-

press, this was the common experience.

Some Vietnam veterans do indeed express bitterness towards those who tried to avoid military service while they fought. But others acknowledge that their war service has made them sympathetic to Clinton's position. "I graduated at the Marine Corps because I wanted to kill a Commie for Monroe," said John Landwehr, 44, from Milwaukee, Wis. "But I earned 1400 degrees because of my experience as a Vietnam." Landwehr—a member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War who threw away his seven medals on the steps of the Capitol in 1971—questions the Bush campaign's motives in emphasizing the draft issue. "There are the same people who could care less about veterans," he said with emotion, pointing to cuts in veterans' benefits under 12 years of Republican rule. Added Peter Zakrevsky, 58, of St. Louis, who was an air cavalry captain in Vietnam:

"Clinton's opposition to the Vietnam war—and hopefully his opposition to any other wars that may be similar—was absolutely right."

Still other Vietnam veterans say that they are resentful that Quayle should boast of his service in the National Guard—and may have used family connections to secure a spot in an elite unit that was never sent to Southeast Asia. "I find people more disturbed with the fact that Quayle, who is a pro-war, found a way to get out than they are with the fact that Clinton, who was against the war, didn't want to go," said Barry Rouse, who served as a platoon commander in Vietnam in 1967 and 1968. Rouse, now 45 and living in Chicago, added: "The Republicans are shooting themselves in the foot again and again and again."

But even though the statistical attacks on Clinton's wartime record do not appear to resonate with voters, Republican strategists say that they will continue to stoke the issue. While analysts say that, on its own, Clinton's draft record is unlikely to affect the outcome of the election, the accumulated negative attacks on his character may chip away some of his support. Stephen Biss of Washington, non-partisan Brookings Institution, predicts that the negative campaign will help but be added. "The odds are that Clinton is going to get elected president—and elected president having worked hard at not serving in Vietnam and being a captain that did fight because that was the government's policy. He's not in a position to say that he's not the best leader."

SCOTT STIEGLER with CHRIS BOWEN in New Orleans and ALAN F. MANCINELLI in Monroe, La.



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BANKING ON UNITY

A NEW ECONOMIC STUDY FROM THE ROYAL BANK SETS OUT THE SEVERE COST OF ANY QUEBEC SECESSION

Edward McLeod has been sitting on a political bench for two years. As the chief economist for Canada's largest bank, the Montreal-based Royal Bank of Canada, he has been the driving force behind a controversial study that paints a bleak portrait of the Canadian economy if Quebec secedes. But last week, just over a month before Canadians vote to accept or reject a new constitutional blueprint as a national referendum, McLeod dropped that bomb of a news briefing in Ottawa. Despite the obvious political implications of the bank's scathing economic scenario, McLeod insisted that he is trying to inform Canadians—not to influence their vote on Oct. 26. Later, sitting in his wood-paneled office in Toronto, McLeod told *Maclean's* that he and Royal Bank chairman Allen Taylor have been "appalled at the inadequacy of the economic discussion surrounding the constitutional debate." Still, he said that the bank, as an institution, must support either side in the campaign. But he added, "If a core informed public will influence the vote, then this is an attempt to influence the vote."

With the release of the Royal Bank study, the Canadian business establishment clearly signalled its willingness to jump into the partisan political debate over the Constitution. Just two days after the Royal Bank issued its stark warning about the economic consequences of Canadian political disunity, Alvin Flood, chairman of the Toronto-based Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, echoed the same theme in an address to a Canadian Chamber of Commerce convention in Victoria. Calling aside the traditional reticence of Canada's chartered banks to become entangled in political controversy, the message from both financial institutions was clear: a vote against the Charlottetown constitutional accord would threaten Canada's economic stability. "Political stability has always been a key factor behind Canada's economic success," said Flood. "The slightest hint of instability can send global financial markets into disarray."

The Royal Bank study outlined, in detail, the economic scars that would result if Quebec were to separate from the rest of Canada (page 48). The document predicted that without Quebec (the average Canadian family's income would be \$70,148) in the mix of the country, then if the country stayed united, as well, unemployment would climb by 720,000 jobs to current level of 1.5 million—and that Canada's standard of living would be 58 per cent below that in the United States

Royal Bank chairman Taylor said that these compelling figures convinced him to speak out. "It is a head-and-buttar issue," Taylor said at his Ottawa news conference. "We are talking about losing jobs, about depriving provinces and savings. Assessing the costs of disunity with care is not just common-sense. It is a thing of reality."

The leader of Quebec's No campaign, Jacques Parizeau, swiftly disputed Taylor's view of reality, however. He astoundingly denounced the bank's study as an effort by the Toronto financial community to bully the country into accepting what he called a hopelessly flawed constitutional deal with "savage tactics." Until last week, most Canadian business leaders avoided such criticism by cautiously sidestepping the constitutional debate altogether. For one thing, some are still stinging from the independent endorsement of their role in preventing the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in 1988.

Along with Brian Mulroney's government, the business community joined the agreement as the key to Canada's future prosperity. But since then, the economy has plunged into the deepest recession since the 1930s, and many Quebecers blame the FTA for the downturn. Said one former corporate lobbyist who requested anonymity: "There is a definite backlash against business by all the people who perceive it as a deal. The business community is much more circumspect about jumping into the trap this time around."

The severe financial problems confronting corporate Canada have also provoked anger executives throughout the constitutional crisis. Richard Woodard, a professor of finance at the University of Calgary, noted that business has borne "a real wage for the last 20 years" and, as a result, the debate on constitutional issues has been a relatively low priority on the business agenda. Added Woodard: "Bleeding out pay goes to hundreds of people as a wrenching, intense process. For many companies it has been all-consuming."

As well, the complex Charlottetown accord has taken some time to



Quebec nationalists warn of the effects of political disunity

emerge. As details have been released, however, several national industry associations have stated that they will not take a stand because they are unable to reach a group consensus. Significantly in Quebec, concern about alienating customers and clients who are polarized on the issue have contributed to an especially cautious tone. The Quebec arm of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, for one, will not take a formal position on the Constitution because of the deep split in its ranks. And

among those in the Quebec business community who support the separation campaign organized by Sociéte québécoise Inc., most have requested anonymity.

As well, executives on both sides of the issue acknowledge that overly strident pronouncements send a dangerous signal to volatile international capital markets. Last week, Peter White, chairman of Toronto-based media conglomerate Hollinger Inc., issued a statement urging Yes and No proponents to be circumspect.

A WEAK RECOVERY

The Conference Board of Canada has forecast that the domestic economy will grow by 1.5 per cent this year and 3.9 per cent in 1993, which is "extremely poor, relative to other economies." It added that unemployment is expected to stay above 11 per cent next year and that it will take at least five years before unemployment in Canada returns to its pre-recession level of eight per cent.

THE COST OF SAYING COMPETITIVE

Canadian steel maker Stelco Inc. announced layoffs affecting 1,650 workers at its Milton Works and near Hamilton. The steel, which employs more than 4,900, is meeting production and cost targets, but that performance has been undermined by low steel prices stemming from worldwide oversupply. Meanwhile, Peter Taylor, the U.S. sales manager in Canada, said that he hopes to work with the Canadian steel industry to develop "an open market" which would buffer the industry from future anti-dumping and countervailing duty cases.

RESTRUCTURING PROBLEMS

Restructuring difficulties continue to plague heritage Canadian developer Olympia & York Developments Ltd. of Toronto. The leading contractors of its half-ruined Canary Wharf office complex in London have voted against a proposal by CEO Paul Robinson and a group of U.S. investors to take control of the project, which was placed under bankruptcy administration last May.

SHINING UP COST CUTS

A stand attempt to remain competitive will keep long-deadline rates low. Alberta's major telephone company, Edmonton-based AUC Ltd., will lay off 1,900 employees, or 16 per cent of its staff, by the end of 1992. Meanwhile, Alberta's provincial auditor released a 200-page report which blamed sloppy government accountability and the appointment of unqualified people to boards of directors for a \$466-million loss by Nova Scotia Communications, an AUC wholly owned subsidiary.

BANK RATE INCHES UP

The Bank of Canada raised its bank rate to 5.66 per cent from 5.34 per cent, its biggest one-week jump in 26 years. Since having a two-decade low of 4.33 per cent on Sept. 1, the bank rate has climbed more than three-quarters of a percentage point. However, with few borrowers available, chartered banks must pressure to increase their customer and business interest rates.

spect and restrained in the language they use to discuss the issues at hand. While a former principal secretary for Mulroney emphasized that a vote against the constitutional proposal will not necessarily lead to a breakup of Canada, he added: "There is a very real danger that foreign investors in particular will be more impressed by the campaign rhetoric than by the post-campaign negotiations."

Most experts on constitutional issues agree that it is essential to emphasize that a rejection of the current package does not signal an automatic end to a united Canada. Thomas Coombe, for example, a professor at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., and author of the

economists have worked to develop new assumptions for their reading financial results of the Canadian economy. They were not the first team to tackle that task, but Neufeld says that these approaches were more heretical than others. "The real problem is all the other studies is that they didn't say what happens to the economy of a country that's breaking up," he said. "We started with a blank slate. We threw out the fundamental assumption that the constitutional framework surrounding the economy was stable."

One of the main differences between the Royal Bank study and others done in the past by the Economic Council of Canada, the C.D.

Monro, and that even hard-core separatist voters, who make up about 40 per cent of the Quebec electorate, are worried about economic issues. Stud Surveys, "You got beyond an elite of 2,000 and people are concerned about where their next meal is coming from."

By contrast, Sewer and other experts express concern that voters in Alberta and British Columbia have less of an economic stake in the outcome of the referendum. Sewer said that those two provinces have stronger economic links with the United States than with the rest of Canada, and would suffer less than other provinces if the country broke up. "When push comes to shove, they can fly on their own wings," he said, adding that western voters have seldom refrained from voting their discontent with central Canada. Declared Sewer: "They have the ability to stick their finger up at the rest of us."

Because economics and politics are so closely entwined in the constitutional debate, the Royal Bank has taken elaborate pains to establish the legitimacy of its commentary in the introduction to its study, the bank carefully outlines the national scope of its operations, which employ 35,534 Canadians. The study also explains that business thrives in an environment of stability. It underscores the fact that uncertainty about Canada's future has already caused some businesses to postpone strategic decisions. And in addition, it forcefully points out that the widespread regressions of concern have made foreign investors suspicious of the Canadian market.

Outside of its carefully constructed role as a commercial corporate adviser, Neufeld insists that the Royal Bank has no place to take on a leadership role within the business community or among its employees. The study will be sent only to those who request it, even among the bank's own ranks. Other companies, including Imperial Oil Ltd. of Toronto, New Corp. of Calgary and Westmont Energy Inc. of Vancouver, whose high-profile executives have taken a strong stand in the Yes camp, are also cautious about influencing their employees.

One senior oil-industry executive, who spoke as a confidante of executives, said that his company's board of directors has been agonizing for weeks over the public stance that management should take in the debate. "Obviously we're not indifferent to the outcome of this debate," he said. "But no one around here wants to be seen to be the government's puppet." Just as the Royal Bank's Neufeld and Taylor came under public fire for their decision to join the increasingly heated constitutional debate, it was clear that those companies that choose to follow their path will find it just as perilous.

DEBORAH MCMEIKEN and JOHN DALE with BARBARA WICKENS in Toronto



Neufeld (left) and Taylor convey strict pronouncements send a dangerous signal

C.D. Howe Institute's study in *Presence of Renewed Federalism*, claims that a No vote will not unleash economic mayhem in Canada. "It's dangerous to link a No vote with the loss of Canada," he said, "and there is no evidence to suggest that view. What it conveys is that we're telling the politicians we prefer the status quo to the accord."

Activists campaigning for a No vote in the Oct. 26 referendum, echoed these criticisms following the release of the Royal Bank study. Reform Party leader Preston Manning told Maclean's that there would be more severe economic consequences if the Yes side prevailed. Manning argued that because the Charbonneau accord is what he called sugar and open-ended, a Yes vote will only delay existing constitutional problems. He said that when international investors realize their fact, "the uncertainty that must be for worse." He added, "If the Royal Bank did half as thorough an analysis of that, it might come to a different conclusion" about the negative economic impact of a Yes vote.

But even those who fled into the Royal Bank's study would have to concede that it is a thorough analysis. Over the past two years, 28

Howe Institute and other policy analysts in their assumption that a country that is breaking up can continue to share a single currency. Regardless of how feasible the split may be, Neufeld says that it is an unrealistic expectation because the maintenance of a single currency will require the co-ordination of government spending, taxation and interest-rate policy. Indeed, degree of co-ordination, in turn, compromises sovereignty.

Certainly the latest assessments are so generalizing that the No campaign in Quebec has little desire to co-opt with Ottawa in any area of policy. Jean Campeau, chairman of the Montreal-based pulp-and-paper maker, Domtar Inc. and the president of Sovereign-Québec Inc., said that unless Quebec severs its ties with Canada, "we will be condemned to build our future without consulting, and to do it with an economic handicap."

Despite the compelling emotional tone of those arguments, many analysts say that the Royal Bank study, as well as active campaigning by pro-federalist Quebec business leaders, could soon tilt the balance in favor of the Yes side in that province. David Suray, a professor of political science at the University of

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A 'For sale' sign

Gordon Capital is looking for a buyer

In the roaring bull market in the late 1980s, the tight-knit investment team at Gordon Capital Corp. had it all. Scoring the established roles of the sleepy sector that had frustrated Canadian capital markets for generations, the Gordon partners racked up big scores with their innovative deals and flamboyant style. Tales of their excesses only reinforced their status; they served real martinis at the trading desk, they raced their Mercedes-Benzes on the track at Mosport, Ont., and they never took no for an answer when calling upon a growing roster of top corporate and institutional clients. That mystique was enhanced by their insistence on absolute secrecy and their refusal, unlike other investment dealers, to ever comment to the media. "They were the ultimate macho, gentlemen," and one day Steve veteran, on condition of anonymity. "They set the pace and the tone for the whole industry at one time." That tone, however, has clearly passed. Now, the Gordon partners have decided to sell the firm.

Over the past 18 months, the "gentlemen" at Gordon have suffered a series of setbacks and humiliations—including a single trading loss estimated at \$120 million, a 10-day suspension of their trading privileges on the Toronto Stock Exchange and several unsuccessful deals. The reversals have clearly tarnished the firm's public image as well as contributing to its financial problems. A recent attempt to quietly raise about \$175 million through an internal issue of shares and bonds to employees failed miserably, only five per cent of the offering was sold.

For senior partners including James Cosca and director Neil Baker, that sale of nonvoting shares from the ranks effectively postponed their retirement plans and forced them into chasing up Gordon to attract an outside buyer. "All the qualities that contributed to their success in the past are now working against them," said one insider, who also declined to be identified. "There's a tremendous amount to correct."

As part of its acquisition, Gordon has already swallowed some latter generation. It has written down about \$70 million of its \$120-million trading loss. The firm has also asked down its Manhattan office, sacrificing its high-profile portfolio strategy. Donald Cowe, who runs the firm about \$1 million a year in personal salary and benefits. Additional layoffs, particularly at Gordon's bond department, are also underway.

At the same time, the mantle of power has fallen from such veteran partners as former chairman Peter Hyland and settled on the shoulders of Gordon president Jeffrey Green, who heads the contingent of younger partners



Cosca: a tremendous amount to correct

intent on changing the firm. As well, as recruiting new talent, Gordon has increasingly turned to those with established credentials outside the investment industry, including lawyer Thomas Allen, formerly with the Toronto law firm Davies Ward & Beck, rather than relying on its past talent for steady financial shareholders.

Gordon's encounters are also trying to tame the firm's aggressive approach to business during weekend retreats designed to develop a more deliberate corporate strategy. "The old quick fix is definitely a thing of the past," said one Toronto-based securities dealer. "Gordon was probably just the last to know the game had changed."

The most significant change has arisen as the result of the federal government's dereg-

ulation of the securities industry in 1987, which allowed Canadian chartered banks to buy out of brokerage firms. With the financial support of the banks and the inevitable cross-reference of bank clients to the bank-owned brokers, many independent dealers have been squeezed. As a result, Gordon's search for a buyer will most likely lead it to the deep pockets of a chartered bank. The firm already has done ties to the Toronto-based Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, which owns 10 per cent of its merchant banking arm, Gordon Investment Corp. Hong Kong financier Li Ka-Shing is another key investor in that venture, which recently has cash reserves of about \$250 million.

Insiders at Gordon acknowledge that they have the best chance of commanding a premium price from an outside investor if they sell the better-lit brokerage business, and emphasize the value at Gordon Investment Corp. Not only is the Canadian securities business "overbought," they say, but market trends have now moved Gordon's traditional strengths.

The so-called institutional clients, money managers who invest billions of dollars on behalf of pension funds and insurance companies, have clearly tailored their style to a professionally managed stock market. Unimpaired by the recent financial performance of many Canadian companies, institutions have increasingly turned away from equity investments, directing their capital to such hard assets as long-term commercial real estate. As a result, individual investors play an increasingly important role when Canadian companies must stock. But because Gordon's focus has always been on the large institutional accounts, it has neither the experience nor the distribution network required to deal with the resurgence in retail investing.

The cooling of major investors towards the equities market, as well as increasingly stringent securities regulations, have dramatically curtailed the popularity of so-called bought deals. Those transactions, where an investment dealer buys stock directly from a corporation with its own capital and resells it later, were first introduced to the market by Gordon in 1982—and largely contributed to the firm's dominance in the past decade. Bought deals proved immediate acceptance with corporations, especially those in the Toronto Bluebird family's ledger group, because they guaranteed that funds could be raised in a single transaction. And as Gordon struggles to adjust itself to the new era in Canadian finance—and attract a buyer—that experience in raising large amounts on short notice could prove vital to the firm's survival.

DEBORAH MUMFORD

Despite what you'd think, they both have the same problem.

Too much saturated fat in their diets — the kind of fat that can increase blood cholesterol levels, and the risk of heart disease. It's a problem so common that

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*1989 Health & Welfare Canada. Source: Health & Welfare Canada. The Heart of the Healthy. Source: Canada's Health & Welfare.



Giving the Yes vote its flesh and bones

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Up to now, what's kept the Yes vote in the Great Britain referendum debate alive has been the often repeated mantra that the Charlottetown accord may not, itself, very exact, but the alternative stinks.

With last week's publication of that blockbuster study by the Royal Bank of Canada on the real costs to the country of Quebec's secession, the debate takes on a whole new dimension. To the No-vote people who can have to justify their stand—that they are willing to decimate the country's economy, just for the sake of having another run at the Constitution.

In fact, almost police-buster prose, bank chairman Allen Taylor spelled out the probable effects on this country by the year 2000 of Quebec seceding out on its own. "Our study," he said, "could lead to a country that has been left open both cheaply and peacefully. It concludes that the cost to Canada would be huge and long-term and that these costs would be paid by people at every economic and social level for generations to come." Taylor, who just finished his going interview by pointing out that what's bad for the economy is bad for its citizens (one out of three Canadians, shareholders (78,000) and employees (55,351) certainly pointed out that he wasn't going to use those figures.

He didn't have to. The figures speak for themselves. With Quebec remaining inside Confederation, we would experience an 11 percent increase in our standard of living by the end of the decade through the creation of 25 million new jobs without Quebec.

Our standard of living would drop by 15 per cent.

Personal income would be \$4,000 lower on a per capita basis, \$10,000 for each family.

Unemployment would reach as high as 15 per cent, which would add at least 720,000 people to the demand current rate of 1.5 million Canadians already out of work.

In the face of such economic devastation, an estimated 1.85 million Canadians would

The No-vote people now have to justify their willingness to decimate the country's economy, just to have another run at the Constitution

migrate to the United States, and as it always has done with such an exodus, we would lose our best and brightest.

The economic pain through the United States and Canada, which is already undergoing, would become an unbearable chaos. Our standard of living would plummet by an astounding 38 per cent below that of the Americans, unemployment would be eight percent plus higher.

In every calculation the bank makes the most conservative estimate of the economic impact of de-Confederation. "If anything," states the report, "these calculations underestimate the economic impact of disunity by failing to take account of the structural changes that would accompany the economic deterioration projected in a disintegrated Canada. The potential for economic disaster is real, and it should not be ignored by assuming or hoping unrealistically that a country can be dismantled without acrimony, dissension and economic catastrophe."

The document repeatedly drives home the message that what's wrong with the Canadian economy has little to do with constitutionalism, but that if the lack of such a document should split the country, the negative fallout will definitely be economic. One example cited has to

do with the fact that our living standards doubled between 1950 and 1958, yet went up only a paltry 0.7 per cent in the 1960s. During both those periods we were operating under the same Constitution, but our national accounts were so badly skewed in debt by the 1960s that government revenues had to be directed into interest payments instead of wealth-creating programs.

The most telling section of the Royal Bank study destroys the notion, held dear by Quebec separatists, that even if Quebec were independent, it could operate on the Canadian dollar. No way, according to Taylor. "A self-functioning national economy requires a stable currency to provide a common unit of value," he writes, "a highly liquid and safe form of saving and a means for settling accounts efficiently. Regional application of money-supply controls is a technical impossibility. Ultimate responsibility for currency and monetary policy must rest exclusively and unambiguously with the central government. Two sovereign states cannot share a single currency while maintaining independent political control."

In a fascinating appendix, the study traces the experience of other countries' bankruptcies, few of which managed their divorces without civil war or at least some violent incidents. The example that's always cited as an exception was the peaceful separation of Norway and Sweden in 1905. It's true that it was peaceful, but one reason for the lack of major disruption was that the two countries had never been soverely as closely integrated as Canadian provinces. Also, the breakup took 30 years to finalize, the currency union between the two countries didn't survive, and both economies suffered.

Taylor has the courage to say publicly what most Canadian readers must have realized privately ever since the constitutional debate began: that in the current international investment climate, even a politically stable Canada doesn't really very high, and an internally divided Canada doesn't rank at all. Our level of debt is as high as that of 198 billion a year has to be raised just to keep us out of bankruptcy. That means having to raise \$1 billion every week of the year, and the bulk of that paper is sold to foreign investors.

What Taylor didn't say is that if we don't get out on our own together and give these notorious capitalist speculators some good money for investing in Canada, they'll fire to enter heaven and all the way Royal Bank projections will suddenly look like good news.

There are many well-intentioned Canadians supporting the No option, because they genuinely believe that the Charlottetown accord should be scrapped. They may be right, but the more has moved away beyond constitutionalism. What we've got here is the potential for a downward scenario, based not on emotions, partisan considerations, or even religion and apostolic interests—but on the cold, hard world of economics.

The choice is no longer between supporting or rejecting an inherently flawed agreement, but between voting Yes for prosperity or No for economic ruin.



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SAY IT AIN'T SO

A BACK INJURY SIDELINES WAYNE GRETZKY

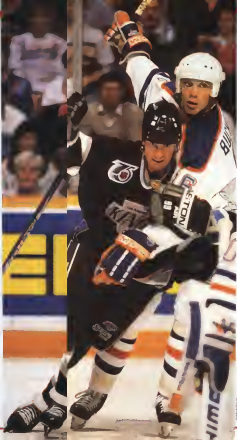
Ever since he became a public figure at age 26, hockey superstar Wayne Gretzky's life has seemed like one perpetual highlight film. He shoots, he scores. He breaks records. He wins games. He hosts the Stanley Cup, he marries a beautiful movie star in a ceremony that rivals a royal wedding. Hollywood stuff. But last week, fans of Wayne's world got a reality check. Having left the Los Angeles Kings' training camp to be with his wife, Janet Jones, for the birth of their third child, Gretzky was hit by a terrible pain in his chest and chest that, for a time, left him struggling to breathe. He was admitted to Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles, where doctors found a herniated disc in the thoracic region of his spine. They said that Gretzky may yet become completely withered and rehabilitated—but they could not say when. And there was no guarantee that Gretzky would respond to treatment. Suddenly, here he is to grasp the sobering possibility that the man who had elevated hockey to something approaching performance art may have put an end to his last show.

This was not supposed to happen to Number 99, on whom the sun always seemed to shine. Never mind that Gretzky, 35, last won a Stanley Cup in 1985, or that he scored a career-low 125 points last season. He remains, in the hockey world, the Great One, the 1st-/all-time leading scorer and the man many experts consider the greatest player the game has ever known. Last week, however, the Great One was just a guy lying, gingerly in

a robe in Los Angeles, taking calls from friends and the local reporter—laxly highlighting film material. And even while the voice on the other end of the telephone last week was undeniably tender, it was strained at times, cracking with discomfort each time he painfully stretched posterior. But Gretzky was quick to say in an interview with *Marlowe's* that after six days in hospital he was feeling better, if not pain-free, and thankfully was no longer confined to bed. "The doctors are encouraging me to move around," he said, "but I don't think I'll be playing any time."

Gretzky's injury is a mystery both to himself and to his medical team. He said that he could not think of one specific moment when it might have occurred. He began to feel the pain in his chest late last winter, but the demands of the late season and playoffs prohibited him from taking time to rest. Great Pals, a longtime friend and now a Toronto Maple Leafs defenseman, said that his former Edmonton Oilers teammate had taken a constant beating over the years. "I know guys would work him around the net," Pals said after a practice last week at the Leafs' training camp in Collingwood, Ont. "But they had to, it was the only way to keep him off the board. Otherwise, he'd end up with 300 points a year."

What puzzles doctors about the injury is its location. The more common disk injuries suffered by athletes such as Toronto Blue Jays pitcher Owen Stiles and Gretzky's fellow hockey star Mario Lemieux were located in the lumbar, or lower, region of the back,



Herniations of discs in the thoracic area—from below the neck to mid-back—are much less common. Dr. Robert Watkins, a spine consultant from the Vellore-Johns Orthopedic Clinic in Los Angeles who is overseeing the rehabilitation process, said that, partly because there are not enough case studies of people with similar afflictions, he has no way of predicting when or if Gretzky will recover.

The problem was not even immediately diagnosed last season because the pain suppressed all other problems. "I had this pain in my chest and all of March, April and May, and at the time we just thought that I'd hurt a rib," said Gretzky, whose skating and shooting were restricted by the problem. "I had about four rib X-rays because I thought I may have broken a rib, or torn cartilage in my rib cage." The pain subsided over the summer, but returned when Gretzky went to training camp in September. After visiting his wife in the maternity ward last week, he went to the sports clinic at Cedars-Sinai, where Dr. Ronald Krizan, the Kings' team physician, ordered a magnetic resonance imaging test—providing a more sophisticated image close to X-ray—that revealed the herniated disc. "I just assumed that it was a small, minor thing and they were going to look at it and say, 'Do this for a week or two and you'll be back playing hockey,'" Gretzky recalled.

For fear of causing any of his final years, Gretzky appeared to have relinquished himself to hockey. He rested for a few weeks after the Kings' early departure from the playoffs last spring, trying to shake off the lingering pain in his chest, then embarked on the most strenuous conditioning program of his career. "In the off-season, I felt that I was still a pretty good athlete and still a long way from being 'finished,'" said Gretzky. He owed no time to anyone in Los Angeles and, with personal trainer Randy Westington, did daily drills for seven weeks to improve his leg and upper-body strength. "I put on about 15 pounds and was probably in better shape than I have ever been in," Gretzky says. "That's what seems to me so strange about the injury: we put it through so much through late July and all of August, and it was fine. We did a lot of weight work, a lot of stretching and a lot of back exercises because of the [speedway] back situation."

Side-sway: Unused to being sick at this time of the year, Gretzky says that he is resigned to being patient and trusting his doctors' advice. "I've got to keep a positive approach," he says, "because if I start feeling sorry or thinking I can't play hockey next week, I'll go into a spiral." Characteristically, he has found a silver lining, saying that he is enjoying the unexpected time with his wife and newborn son, Trevor. The injury allowed him to be home last week when his daughter, three-year-old Paden, went to preschool for the first time. And two-year-old Ty, who Gretzky says is "intensely a sports-fan," has delighted his father by becoming a hockey nut just from watching games on television. "We can't get him away from it," said Gretzky, smiling. "Quite honestly, it has been nice to spend this time at home."

But the Kings and their owner, Bruce McNall, will surely mention (page 58) in 1993. McNall traded \$18 million, three first-round draft choices and two players to the Oilers in return for Gretzky and two others, in the belief that the Brampton, Ont., native could turn hockey into a major attraction in Los

Angels. For the most part, the strategy has worked. Personal stories also have struggled to attract fans to the Coast Western Forum, the Kings suddenly found that their colors, local television rights and merchandise were hot commodities. McNeil says that the team posted a profit in the first season with Gretzky after losing \$8 million the year before. Last year, the Kings sold out every home game. Marketing analysts say that Gretzky provided the superstar quality needed to attract fans in a city that was immune to movie stars. Dan Schrier, executive vice-president at Olympic Communications, a Los Angeles television production company and a trade-plotted New Yorker, never attended hockey games when living on the east coast. But in Los Angeles, he said, "I would go because I was drawn by Gretzky."

The Kings also improved on the ice, but have not been able to win a Stanley Cup, a fact that both McNeil and Gretzky have acknowledged as their main sin in their bid to solidify the sport in the major West Coast market. The disc injury is just the latest reminder that



Gretzky and wife Janet Jones last week: making no excuses

Gretzky's biological clock is ticking, and without his hopes of winning a cup with the Kings. Over the last two years, the club has traded away young prospects and draft choices to acquire veterans for the short term. The team now arranged to acquire the now-magical chemistry that was last Stanley Cup's core for the Edmonton Oilers by sending Gretzky with his former Oilers teammates and friends Charlie

Huddy, Paul Goffey and sniper Ben Kurri.

But the Kings have not advanced past the second of four playoff rounds in four straight years, and some fans have become cynical of their star. A persistent criticism last season was that Gretzky had too much influence over the makings of the team. The acquisition of Kam, Gretzky's longtime winger in Edmonton, cost the team popular defenseman Steve Duchesne. "I love Wayne and I am glad he was here, but offense was never the Kings' problem," said longtime Kings fan Richard Rosen. "They still have firepower, but they have never corrected the defense. Make this a myth. I think they are. Delusional."

Gretzky, however, scoffs at the notion that he controls personnel decisions. If he did, he said, the team would never have traded away star center Bernie Nichol or his friend Mike Krushelnyski, now with Toronto. More commonly, some hockey watchers question whether Gretzky, a professional since age 17, has simply become tired. "He came out the league at 18 and averaged at least 30

minutes a game," said Leafs president Cliff Fletcher, who saw a lot of Gretzky while he was general manager of the Calgary Flames during the late 1980s. "Then there were all the playoff games he was in at Edmonton. He has played as much as he has."

Others suggest that Gretzky may have succumbed to the same injury problems of Los Angeles. The boy from Brantford found himself in the company of movie, television and sports celebrities, and making appearances on late-night talk shows. Then there were the endorsements for soft drinks, athletic shoes and retail stores.

But Gretzky and those who know him insist that, while his lifestyle may have changed, he still puts hockey on a special, separate pedestal. He tossed down the Walt Disney Cup in 1986 when he approached to make an instant.

"After this, I'm going to Disneyland," television commercial, which the company wanted to shoot the account he finally accepted. Gordon Howe's long-standing contract points record. Gretzky said that he did not want to take anything away from an important milestone in his life. And other players said they see no sign that he is shirking his on-ice reputation for playing—and practicing—hard. "He was getting so much in time," said Krushelnyski, denying suggestions that Gretzky was any less concentrated last season. "And he never dugged it."

Shinoh, who Gretzky's 1990-1991 season was certainly his best, both on and off the ice. He suffered a lower back injury while playing in the pre-season Canada Cup tournament after being checked hardy into the boards by American defenseman Gary Suter. The injury knocked him out of the tournament and forced him to start the season suffering from lower-back pain. Then, when his father, Walter, newly died from a brain aneurysm in October, he left the team for several games to be with his dad in a Hamilton, Ont., hospital. Gretzky is hesitant to comment on his father's recovery, although he has acknowledged in the past that he was badly shaken by Walter's illness.

But Gretzky has always been his own worst critic, missing more than once last year about quitting hockey. "I just feel that my contribution to the team last season was not up to the standard that I set myself to," he told *Maclean's* last week. "I don't want to make excuses. For whatever reason, it didn't happen." Gretzky said he has shown the "face" of depression. "On one of those I had to take a

I got here was to help sell hockey, and I think we made some great strides in that area," he said. "The next thing was to create an organization that expected to win. And I think we've made strides in that way too. The third thing to do was to win the Stanley Cup, but we have yet to accomplish that. So we are two-thirds of the way there."

Marques: Kings officials tried last week to elicit negative conjecture about how Gretzky's absence might affect the team. "It isn't a one-man sport, so we feel we can still be competi-

The conversation discussed what hockey would be without Gretzky showed the more personal matter of why Gretzky would be without hockey. He said that while he is determined to concentrate on overcoming his injury and returning to play, the painful reminder of his professional mortality has caused him to look beyond his career. "I thought that I have! I thought about retirement would be a lie," he said. "What am I going to do? I don't know." But Gretzky quickly dismissed further thoughts of life without hockey. "If I lose my focus about being positive toward this treatment, my thought processes might turn negative about ever coming back," he said. "So what I have to try to do is remain focused on the immediate future, which is the next three or four months, to try to do whatever I can."

Spotlight: His determination to defy ailments has been a lifelong trait. Gretzky has been in the spotlight since, while a 10-year-old player in the Brantford minor league, he scored 378 goals in 69 games. But he now recalls that years ago both a dream and a nightmare, and in the first time he ever experienced true superstition. Subsequently, he was hoarded for storms, and he was hoarded and surrounded at by parents of players on opposing teams, and even his own team. At 14, he had to come away from Brantford in order to play hockey in relative anonymity.

"I don't think that I was shortchanged," he said, "but I wouldn't want other kids to have to go through the pressure and the publicity that I had to go through." That said, he admits that hockey has given as good as he got. "All in all," he said, "I've been very fortunate and I think that I have been a lot of great things and a lot of great people during my life." And on a note when he might slip into despondency, Gretzky appears to have landed on his feet as always—even if he happens to be flat on his back. "For me, the last few days have been really nice because a lot of my friends have been visiting with words of encouragement," he said. "The people around me are so important, and if they are positive and upbeat, then you're going to be just yourself." Now, as you get a person of what it might feel like to do without Wayne Gretzky, they might do well to remember that hockey will go on because it is a great game. Gretzky just made it better.

JAMES DRAGON with DANCY JENNY in Collingwood and ANNE GREGG on Los Angeles

WHERE IT HURTS

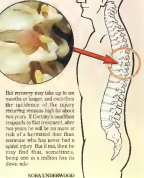
Wayne Gretzky's injury is a very special case

Less it is Wayne Gretzky, the most successful hockey player of his time, in his selection by what Los Angeles Kings' team doctor Robert Watkins called a "rare-in-a-million" injury. Some back specialists claim that they never see a single patient suffering from a herniated disc in the thoracic—or middle—region of the spine, where Gretzky's injury occurred. Movement in that part of the back is limited, and the area is supported by the ribs and chest, making it less vulnerable than the neck and lower spine to injury. Specialists see so few cases that there is no agreement on even how or why such injuries occur. Add Toronto orthopedist Dr. Hamilton Bick, founder of the Canadian Back Institute. "It's so rare that there's really no patient to it."

Drugs are basically the shock absorbers of the spine. Forward of a Phosphate-like material exists in tough fibers, the

does not as cushions between each of the 24 vertebrae. Dr. James Watkins, executive vice-president of the Canadian Chiropractic Association, explains that when a person with an unrecognized spine bends forward, the vertebrae stacked in the center is pushed against the rubbing fibers. Should the fibers tear and the gelatin protrude—our "hernia"—the pressure may irritate spinal nerves. Depending on the seriousness of the disc injury, the pain can range from slight discomfort to agony.

When the herniated disc is at an advanced stage, back specialists may opt to surgically remove the bulging portion of the disc, often slowing the two vertebrae to fuse together. But Bick says that 80 per cent of disc ruptures with nerve pressure get better on their own. A specialized exercise program can minimize discomfort and promote healing.



SARA UNDERWOOD

'MAYBE I GET CARRIED AWAY'

A HIGH FLYER ENDURES A LOSING STREAK

Bruce McNall was tired. The 40-year-old had just landed in Los Angeles last Friday night but McNall was still at his office returning calls before heading out to another obligatory engagement. He has recently added the full-time job of National Hockey League chairman to his other business duties. "I don't have the freedom to leave as much time as I would like," he acknowledged as a voice cracky from overtime. Certainly some of the fun has gone out of owning the struggling Toronto Argonauts of the Canadian Football League. "I don't enjoy firing coaches—although I don't do it myself," he said. "And I don't enjoy being and being there and right." But McNall insists that he is not discouraged. "One of the reasons I have been reasonably successful," said the millionaire coach dealer and sports entrepreneur, "is that I look at the glass as half full, not half empty."

But it was tough to find a bright side in the reports last week that Wayne Gretzky, the star of McNall's Los Angeles Kings and hockey's mother lode, had suffered a back injury that could end his career. Along with the apparent attitude problem that has affected Roberto (Rocket) Lemay, the young lock returned the Argonauts paid a small fortune to acquire last year, the foundations of McNall's sports empire suddenly appeared as vulnerable as an athlete's gump knee. "You can look at the Gretzky situation, and the fact that the Argos haven't performed well, and it's a pretty depressing, no question about it," McNall said. "But Canada is going through a terrible recession yet we are still getting 30,000 fans in Toronto." Still, McNall, 40, president of Sports & Entertainment in Los Angeles did not conceal their concern. "We've been holding life-alter Gretzky meetings for two years," said Kings president Ray Barker. "But the fact is we're not prepared for it now, and we're never going to be prepared for it."

Some of the glass began coming off McNall's year ago, when *Forbes* magazine alleged that there were inconsistencies between McNall's statements about himself and the facts. The magazine said that, contrary to the biography McNall's company has distributed, McNall did not attend Oxford, and he did not trade cars for such millionaires as J. Paul Getty and Howard Hughes, as he has suggested. "I am a salesman," he told *Maclean's* by way of explanation.



McNall with Lemay at Argonaut signing; trying to prepare for life after Gretzky

entire. "So from time to time, maybe I do get carried away."

Despite winning the Grey Cup last year, the Argonauts—and McNall—have also disappointed. The openly leamed has been used sparingly on the field, and has done little to cultivate interest in the CFL off it. Gate revenue increased by just \$2.4 million—not enough to cover the Rocket's annual salary, which is about \$4 million. And, with the Argonauts languishing in the basement of the CFL's eastern division, Lemay has become truly, Jan. 1991, 13 games against Calgary, the 22-year-old lost his temper and kicked Stampeders Andy McRoy in the head.

Diagnosis: McNall says that he is disappointed that "the team are not coming in the drivers that we would like them to," and this month publicly called the Argos play "a disgrace." But he says that he is not disappointed with Lemay, even berating him over the kicking incident. "I think the Rocket is trying so hard to be one of the guys that when he saw one of his teammates being hurt, he just wanted to defend him," McNall explained. But Steve Wake, vice chairman of McNall Sports & Entertainment, has already said that McNall would not stand in

his way if Lemay wanted to come back to the United States to play football for the Los Angeles Raiders, who told his rights there. So far, Lemay has shown no sign of taking the offer. "You think [the Raiders] are going to pay me this kind of money? No way," Lemay told *The Sporting News* a year ago.

Gretzky will continue to pull a \$3.5-million-a-year salary until 1994, whether he plays or not, and McNall says that insurance will pay the bill. The owner also donated speculation that the Kings' cable-television revenues are tied to Gretzky playing. But McNall has always been candid about Gretzky's importance to the Kings. "I need Wayne as long as possible," McNall said in an interview last spring. "Wayne does so many things to bring in money. I have him say two words and sign a stack to some guy and it comes back as a half-million words of advertising. And when he says enough—when he quits—the only question for me will be: Have we built up enough of a tradition in this city to continue to sell a wonderful sport? The chance to find out may occur sooner than McNall ever expected."

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SECRET-AGENT MAN

Steven Ford says that spending his teenage years in the political spotlight was not his idea of a good time. From 1974 to 1977, when his father, Gerald Ford, was president, bodyguards accompanied him



Ford: a secret life

everywhere. "When you're 18 years old, 10 Secret Service guys is not really the group you want to hang out with," he recalled. Now Ford, who played Andy on the *The Young and the Restless* for 4 1/2 years, will host a new TV series, *Secret Service*. Filmed in Toronto and scheduled for fall, it is based on cases from the Secret Service. Declined the former first son: "They saved my dad's life twice."

Being bitchy

Lana Flyn Boyle has been so much sought after since her rise to fame as good-girl Donna on *7½ Women*. But Boyle, 22, said that "unintentionally" after *7½* she got all kinds of offers that were exactly like what *7½* just did—like the stereotypical get-rich-quick. "That is now changing. Boyle, a Chicago native, plays the character who determined herself a *Miss Rodolph*—just released movie, *Queen*. And Boyle also recently completed a movie, with notoriety, called *And Rock Was Said Boyle*. "I play a bitch. But it would be nice to find something in between."



Boyle: search for a normal role

An ear for science

For 12 years, science writer and broadcaster Jay Ingram translated often difficult scientific concepts into plain, clear language for listeners of the CBC Radio show *Quirks & Quarks*. Ingram said that his fascination with the role that science plays in everyday life began when he was about six

and his mother interested him in bird-watching. After that, he was intrigued by what he discovered when he looked at drops of pond water under a microscope. Declared Ingram: "There's a whole world in there!" Recently, he turned his attention to human neuroscience every day event

Ingram: talking



Sherraine: her goals against and a contract offer in the minors

BEAUTIFUL SAVE

Since the opening day of the NHL Tampa Bay Lightning training camp, his friends of fans have learned the unannounced child of the local hockey risk to watch a 20-year-old goalie from Lac Beauport, near Quebec City. The object of their interest, Miriam Sherraine, the first female ever to compete for a spot on a major professional hockey team. And last week in her first outing, she allowed two goals in an exhibition game against the St. Louis Blues. Said Sherraine afterwards, "I just didn't want to be embarrassed." But Lightning general manager and Phil Esposito, was so impressed that he offered her a contract with the Lightning's farm team, the Atlanta Knights. If she stays with the Knights, she will become the first female to play with an NHL-affiliated club. Said Esposito: "I want her in our organization for a long time."

Applause sign not necessary

Celebrated Canadian film maker Barry Rasky said that he was feeling uneasy about the silence that greeted his 40th film, *The War Against the Indians*, when he screened a rough cut of it at the Great Plains Film Festival in Lincoln, Neb., last summer. The 2 1/2-hour documentary, which is scheduled to air on CBC TV on Oct. 4, traces a native viewpoint of North American history through Indian elders, artists and activists. After the Nebraska screening, Rasky, astonished at the painful events his film chronicles, said that he asked his audience why they were so quiet. One man responded immediately. "He simply told me to 'think of it as a human silence,'" said Rasky. He subsequently won the festival's Humanities Award and says that the man's statement was "a beautiful compliment."



speech. The result in his latest book, *Talk, Talk, Talk*, in which he delves into speech from linguistic, physiological and sociological points of view. Ingram said that scientists are deeply divided over when and how man's ancestors began talking. "We may never know the answers to those questions," he added, "but the pursuit itself is so much about ourselves."



Shulman: the ability to turn his own debilitating disease to his advantage

HEALTH

Enthusiasm's pitfalls

Morton Shulman hard-sells an Alzheimer's drug

Neering his 60th birthday in April this year, Morton Shulman could look back on a colorful career—as a physician, chief coroner in Ontario, provincial politician, successful investor and best-selling author (*Against Can Make a Million*). But in 1983, Shulman was stricken by Parkinson's disease, a disorder that causes patients to progressively lose control over their bodily movements. With characteristic flair, Shulman managed to turn the debilitating disease to his advantage. He discovered a little-known European drug that he says has dramatically eased his Parkinson's symptoms, then acquired and successfully marketed the drug, called *Elestopryl*, in North America. Last year, Shulman's Toronto-based company, Deprenyl Research Ltd., added another drug to its inventory. It began selling *Alzinet*, used to treat Alzheimer's disease, in Canada and in the United States. But now concerns about *Alzinet*'s medical value, and the way it was being marketed in the United States, have caused the value of Deprenyl's stock price to plunge.

The value of Deprenyl's shares on North American stock markets fell sharply at late August when an article in *The Wall Street Journal* questioned the therapeutic value of *Alzinet*. Deprenyl Research—like many other biomedical stocks that were also suffering—traded at a peak of \$53 1/2 in March, but fell to about \$2 a share to about \$7 1/2 after the article's publication. The share price took another tumble in mid-September, to \$2 1/2 after the Philadelphia-based drug firm SmithKline Beecham Corp. announced that it was pulling out of a joint venture involving Deprenyl and another company. The firm had been developing a drug called *One-Alpha D6* for the treatment and prevention of osteoporosis, a degenerative bone condition.

Shulman's business grew out of his own agonizing midlife crisis. Four years after Shulman was diagnosed as having Parkinson's disease, which affects more than 76,000 Canadians, Shulman said that he was so distraught that his doctor told him about a drug from Hungary that Parkinson's victims were using in Europe. Shulman said that within a few days of taking a sample brought to him by a friend, he was feeling well. Subsequently, he bought the Canadian rights to the drug and began selling it to doctors who obtained approval from Health and Welfare Canada to prescribe it



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HEALTH

to persons with conditions for which no other remedy was available. In 1990, Health and Welfare officially approved Edapyl as an adjunct to another Parkinson's drug, and it is currently used by about 15,000 Canadian Parkinson's patients.

Shalun's core mental drug product, Alazene, was developed by an Israeli psychopharmacologist, Shlomo Yehuda, who found that a mixture of two purified fatty acids found in vegetable oils improved the learning abilities of animals. In trials involving Alazene's patents in Israel, Yehuda said that 70 per cent of those using Alazene responded dramatically. Yehuda sold the world rights to Alazene to Monks-based In-Cog, and early in 1991, Depuy Research obtained Canadian rights for the compound from In-Cog. Because Alazene has not been approved for general use by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, Shalun's firm began distributing Alazene in the United States under a policy that allows unlicensed drugs to be sold to patients with life-threatening conditions.

While it fights for official blessing, Depuy Research has had to modify its operating procedures in the United States. Company president Dr. Martin Barlick said that at the company's request a U.S. lawyer checked Depuy's marketing methods and criticized the analogy that the company sent to American physicians with information about Alazene. As a result, said Barlick, the firm stopped the letters.

But that has not stopped some industry observers from suggesting that Shalun, who has a reputation as an aggressive salesman, may have become a liability to his own firm. Said a Toronto stock-market analyst, who spoke on condition of anonymity: "Maybe the best thing that could happen is that Marty resigns. In many ways, he built this company as a desperate because of his entrepreneurial orientation." Shalun's son, Geoffrey, 38, who is co-chairman of Depuy Research and president of Depuy USA Inc., is believed to be his father's chosen successor as chairman. Said Markel-Jewell, a biomedical analyst for Montreal-based Glaxo Investments Inc.: "I think his son no longer has enthusiasm and doesn't have traditional management."

And Jaffe maintained that Depuy Research still faces a promising future. "The long-term prospects for Depuy stock are better than many people think," said Jaffe, "simply because they are developing some products that appear to have a lot of potential." Among these is ALA-Photodynamic Therapy, an experimental compound that is showing early signs of helping in the treatment of skin cancer.

For his part, Barlick attributed some of Depuy's problems to the unfavorable report in *The Wall Street Journal*. And Barlick said that the *Journal* interview may have been the last one that Shalun will give for some time, to avoid any possible misinterpretation of his self-business for Alazene. "He is a colorful figure in Canadian history," said Barlick. "For him, even this is an opportunity."

NORA UNDERWOOD

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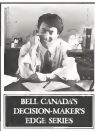
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Days/Lewis' desire, fast-paced action, the drama seems hollow at the core

FILMS

Hawkeye returns

A classic hero stalks the big screen

THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS
(Directed by Michael Mann)

The success of 1991's *Dances With Wolves* showed that there was an audience for a new kind of Indian movie—a romantic epic about a noble people, a virgin environment and a white warrior who goes native. Now, in a lush new version of James Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Last of the Mohicans* (1992), Hollywood has resurrected Hawkeye, one of America's original frontier heroes. A white orphan raised by Indians, he is a hybrid of the noble savage and the Yankee pioneer. Previous screen versions of Cooper's novel include a 1936 movie starring Randolph Scott, and Hawkeye, a 1957 TV series about the exploits of Tarzan's, with Les Clayes Jr. impersonating as an Indian. By contrast, the new movie aims for historical authenticity and features Indian actors in Indian roles. But Hawkeye himself is portrayed by British actor Daniel Day-Lewis, speaking with a rustic American accent. And despite breathtaking scenery, fast-paced action and pulsating period detail, the drama seems hollow at the core—a spectacle that lacks substance.

The movie's U.S. director, Michael Mann, certainly infuses the art of frontier violence. Mann does for the tomahawk what he did for the machine-gun in *Miami Vice*, the TV series that he created. The battle scenes are thrilling. And although Lewis occasionally seems stilted, physically he makes a man fighting Hawkeye. The actor, who was an

Oscar loser his contention to a cerebral policy sufferer in *My Left Foot* (1989), has somehow transformed his spare frame into a fierce vision of raw, animal intensity.

The story, reasonable, is an overheated blend of violence and romance. It is set in 1757, in the forests of what is now the northeastern United States. The French and their Indian allies are at war with the British. After rescuing British troops from a Huron ambush, Hawkeye agrees to guide Cora (Madeleine Stowe) and Alice (Judy May) to their father, the British commander. Hawkeye falls in love with Cora and runs afoul of her father. But the real villain is Magua, a warlike Huron leader played with magnetic nastiness by Cherokee Wes Studi, who portrayed a rampaging Pawnee warrior in *Dances With Wolves*.

The film-makers have clipped away the rough edges of settling and racism in Cooper's novel. And novice actor Russell Means, co-founder of the American Indian Movement, gives the movie a stamp of legitimacy with his wild performance as Chingachgook, Hawkeye's adoptive Mohican father. But the love story has the contrived ring of a *Harlequin* romance. And although the violence is gripping, it adds up to a lot of savage excitement for its own sake. Despite its richest visual-sensory, the new *Last of the Mohicans* is still an old-fashioned spectacle of a white hero defending his woman from a gang of bloodthirsty Indians.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

Closing in for the kill

Jack Lemmon scores in a ruthless real estate tale

GLENGARRY GLEN ROSS
(Directed by James Foley)

Preserving the intensity of a stage play acrosses without making it seem stagey is difficult. But with *Glengarry Glen Ross*, director James Foley and writer David Mamet have done a superb job of adapting Mamet's 1984 Broadway hit about desperate real estate salesmen. By using the language so much the actors outdoors, the filmmakers have, if anything, enhanced the play's stark sense of oppression. Most of the action takes place around the desks of a drab sales office, or on the red banquettes of a Chinese restaurant across the street—places that seem strangled in another era. Outside is a night of driving rain, a world that is quickly closing in on the losers the mannequin, the sentimental lawyer. Daily come *Glengarry Glen Ross* is a death of a salesman for the 1990s, as the recession, Mamet's ugly vision of capitalism seems even more germane than when the play was first produced.

The story unfolds a dark-hair congressman John (Kevin Spacey), the spineless manager running the real estate office, where in Blake (Eric Robison), a hothead consultant from head office, who announces a sales contest. First prize, he tells them, is a Cadillac. Second, a used car. A third prize, a used car. And last prize, "You're fired." The salesman (played by Jack Lemmon), who has a daughter in the hospital and who's desperately trying to break a long streak. He begs his boss for some leads from the company's list of prospective clients. George (Alan Rickman) another top performer, slides into despair. Then (Ed Harris), angry and vindictive, plots revenge. Only Jack (Harris) is the one who survives on top of his game. He's a closing deal.

Glengarry features some major stars in a first-class ensemble cast. Each actor seems to have his own character and a Mamet's own dialogue, which details and witfulness out of a scolding profanity. Phrases are brilliant, sliding through the script's remarkable wit with the measured grace of a radio chef. And Lemmon gives a career-crowning performance. He has often had a tendency to overact, but in a glacial, high-pressure salesman's office, he was perfectly pitched. And that is just one of the jewels that makes *Glengarry Glen Ross* so cruelly effective.

B.D.J.

Variations on a life

Glenn Gould's brilliance still dazzles

There was something uncanny about it. Russell Hopton (left) Gould recalls that when his son, Glenn, was a toddler—"barely past the crawling stage"—he would pull himself on his full height and reach up to strike a single key on the family piano. Just one note. "Most kids, you get them at a piano and they bang away—make as much racket as possible." 90-year-old Bert Gould, a retired banker, and in a recent interview at his suburban Toronto home "But Glenn," he continues, "would just strike one note. The most notes in it until it died away." Bert Gould's son, of course, grew up to become the most famous classical pianist that Canada has ever produced. But Glenn Gould was much more than that: broadcaster, writer, philosopher, he pushed back frontiers of thought and technol-

ogy. On Oct. 4, 1982, nine days after his 50th birthday, he died in a Toronto hospital after suffering a severe stroke. Ten years later, the world is commemorating the achievements of Gould's astonishing life.

The tributes range from the International Glenn Gould Piano Festival, in the Dutch city of Groningen this week, to a just-published book of Gould's letters (page 65). Meanwhile, Sony Classical is releasing Gould's complete 27-year Columbia/CBS catalogue along with previously unissued live concert recordings

and the documentaries that Gould made for CBC's radio and TV networks. And last week, Toronto hosted one of its most beloved, beloved residents with its own unauthorized extravaganza: The Glenn Gould International Conference, hosted by that city's Glenn Gould Foundation, attracted scholars and performers from as far away as Ghana and Japan.

In addition to lectures and concerts, the Toronto celebrations featured the premiere of the play *Glenn*, written by David Young, and the opening of a 345-seat CBC concert hall and studio named after Gould and located in the neighborhood's new broadcast centre. On his birthday, Sept. 25, there was even a parade with children carrying huge inflatable replicas of Gould's gloves and the peaked cap that the child-legend wore every year-round.

Conductor Leonard Bernstein once described Gould as "the greatest thing that has happened to music in years." That talent did not turn Gould into the capricious figure he has become. As only child whose mother, Florence, gave singing lessons, he was being generating such local headlines as "Boy, aged 13, shows genius at organ." The young Canadian was born into the international music scene in 1928 and 23 with the release of his first recording, a fresh interpretation of Johann Sebastian Bach's *Goldberg Variations*, attracted attention because he was eccentric as well

as gifted. Everything from his water-jelly wardrobe to his habit of humming loudly while he played was made much of by journalists, as was his penchant for performing works much faster or slower than composers' indications. Then, in 1964, he made good on an oft-repeated promise: an staged performance in public. He referred into what he called the "world-like security" of the recording studio. There, he devoted himself not only to recording but to making documentaries on such diverse subjects as output: Newfoundland and German composer Richard Strauss. The composer became his unofficial card to the outside world, and he used it to carry on epic rhetorical conversations with friends, largely conducted on the basis of old-cell-phone 11 calls. Perhaps nothing is as edifying as occasionally late afternoon late work, Toronto-based pianist William Kalk, who knew and admired him, recalled that Gould became "Canada's own Greta Garbo." For his part, Gould and in one of his own TV documentaries, "One concert list would have been leaving five bits cut off by the world, or perhaps by leaving due the critics of music."

But a decade after Gould's death, the world is clearly not ready to let go of him. The 1955

recording of the *Goldberg Variations* has never gone out of print, and his more contemporary, 1981 version alone has sold more than 1.2 million copies worldwide. "For a lot of people, he really is the voice of Bach," said Deborah MacCallum, director of Royal Conservatory Canada that has the most complete set of 17 CDs of his comprehensive Glenn Gould Edition. The complete, which acquired CBC Records in 1983, plans to release approximately 60 Gould releases and previously unissued recordings over the next two years. MacCallum noted last week that one of the new Gould CDs became a best-seller during its first week on shelves at Toronto's main record store. The most recent lot of starwired best-sellers placed a sampler disc featuring Bach, Beethoven and Haydn of number 49—just under the *Eurythmics* and slightly above Bryan Adams. She added that the Glenn Gould collection has a strong following in France and Japan.

Last week, a recent arrival packaged as the notepad of Toronto's new Metro Hall, where some of the more than 20,000 papers and articles from the National Library at the Glenn Gould collection will be open. People cluster around the shelves containing a battered chair with sword-off,

adjustable legs—Gould preferred it to a conventional piano bench and took it with him almost everywhere. Stephen Wills, head of the manuscript collection, music division, at the National Library, noted that Gould "kept pretty well everything." Indeed, a photograph taken shortly after his death showed a room in his penthouse, stuffed nearly to the ceiling with filing cabinets and stacks of paper. A Grammy award sits atop one heap in the foreground.

One of the most thought-provoking of the Toronto events was a play set in another corner of "house Glenn Gould's heart," as the production, written by and for the second convention thought: meant to suggest Toronto playwright Young. Five, an award-winning 1980 play by Young and Paul Leduc, dramatized the life of hard-drinking, rock 'n' roll wild man Jerry Lee Lewis. According to Young, who later became a famously old couple of a husband and wife, "I think the most interesting thing about Glenn is that there is their obsession with perfection. It is their 'obsessive pursuit of excellence.'" In Young's *Glenn*, which opened at Toronto's de Manoir Theatre Centre last week and runs until Oct. 17, five actors (Duncan Glen, Glen, Randy, and a woman named Mary and John, the Thelma) are often onstage simultaneously, performing Gould at different stages of his life.

When the Gould who is in the last months of his life (Thelma) looks back on his mother, perhaps still (Katherine), he finds only contempt. Shortly before recording the *Goldberg Variations*, the real Gould learned to his 1955 recording of the same work and commented that he could not identify with the spirit of the person who had written it. "That line triggered the whole play," and Young. But the playwright added that his initial inspiration with Gould came from listening to recordings with his father. "His playing is like an old shoe—there is an extraordinary clarity to it," and Young. "He makes his listener feel incredibly smart because when you listen to him you feel that you get to know what he knows."

Although his musical tastes ranged from the lush romanticism of Richard Wagner to the stringent compositions of Arnold Schoenberg, Gould is most closely associated with Bach. And on Sept. 25, CBC Stereo presented all 48 preludes and fugues from Bach's *NW 26* (Johann Christian over more than 40 consecutive hours, performed by 17 artists, including Gould). Gould's own recordings opened and closed the cycle. In an interview with *Maestro*, one of the pianists, Angela Hewitt, said that Gould often worked in "Bach's" tempo, but he "corrected them all." Added the Canadian musician, now living in London: "You can admire him, but he's someone you can't really emulate." And, another of the artists featured on the CBC, cited the clarity of Gould's playing and described him as "the most magnificent pianist that Canada has ever produced." Gould himself once said that the purpose of art was "the gradual, lifelong construction of a state of wonder-ful serenity." Wonder he attacked that goal was his own secret, but his recorded legacy continues to draw others toward it.

PAMELA YOUNG

His master's voice

Recently, Oxford University Press published Glenn Gould Selects Letters (265 pages, \$29.95), edited by John P. L. Roberts and Glenys M. Roberts, a collection of 281 manuscript drawn largely from the National Library of Canada.

To Mrs. H. L. Austin, June 25, 1962
Strange, I have always preferred writing in a style, making records or doing radio or television, and so the audience is a friend, not an enemy and the lack of an audience—the total anonymity of the studio—provides the greatest incentive to satisfy my demands upon myself without consideration, fear, or qualification by the individual audience, or by the ear of the audience. My own eye is, paradoxically, that by pursuing the most narcissistic relation to artistic satisfaction one can best fulfill the fundamental obligation of the artist of giving pleasure to others.

To Deborah Bamber, June 28, 1962
I think that if I were required to spend the rest of my life on a desert island, and to listen or play the music of any one composer during all that time, that composer would almost certainly be Bach. I really can't think of any other music which is so all-encompassing, which moves me so deeply and so consistently, and which, to use a rather impressive word, is valuable beyond all its skill and brilliance for something more meaningful than that—its humanity.

To Virginia Ralston, wife of conductor Milton Ralston, June 30, 1973
I'm almost totally indifferent to the process of writing and, quite frankly, can just barely manage to spell out my compositions, on basic attitude towards text is that it's a non-consuming nuisance... and I would be only too delighted if one could effectively sustain myself with all necessary artistic statement by the simple strains of X capsules per day.

Draft of an undated letter to record-company employer Susan Knaus.
I've heard a malicious rumor to the effect that I either don't play, or do not play by my own standards, the music of the so-called romantic composers—music of Chopin and Schubert and Schumann for ex. Nemo, of the last week to stop right there, the rumor would be indeed well-founded, I feel that the piano music written in the first half of the 19th century dramatized a kind of music that I find that it's a mark product of the industrial revolution, exploits the newly developing capacities of the keyboard—and I also find it aesthetically sentimental, full of peccator tricks. But, it's a hell of a lot... when you come to the second half of the 19th century, that's when you get into the music because it was discovered that the modern period of Bach (Richard Wagner)

(Reprinted with the permission of the Estate of Glenn Gould)



Circles of hell

A novel journeys to the dark underside

THE LAST MAGKIAN

By Janette Turner Hospital
(McGraw-Hill & Stewart, 357 pages, \$18.95)

When Janette Turner Hospital described her new novel to an audience of bookshoppers in Toronto in July, she linked her dream, lush writing style to the rain forest in Queensland, Australia, where she grew up. "The rain forest is nature at its most baroque," said the internationally acclaimed writer, 54, now based in Kingston, Ont. "My prose reflects that." As a result of her earlier work, Hospital's 8th and most ambitious novel, *The Last Magkian*, possesses a narrative as twisting and tangled as jungle undergrowth. Part mystery, part philosophical exploration, it tells an intricate tale of sexual obsession, corruption and murder. But its essence is an emotionally charged meditation on loss and absence, on time and memory, on the host's ability to deny what the heart knows. Lucy, the book's main narrator, struggles to make sense of old, unresolved trauma, trying, writes the author, "to salvage the future and predict the changeable past."

The Last Magkian extends some of the concerns that have marked Hospital's previous earlier works. Her four previous novels and two short-story collections are packed with imagery of black holes, borders and chaos—finger spots on the psychological as physical terrain. Her characters are sensitive people living on the edge. They are often restless, straddling respectable society and a symbolically loaded otherworld of violence.

In *The Last Magkian*, Hospital takes those themes to a more and richer satirical level. At the heart of the story is a horrifying childhood death that took place decades ago and continues to haunt four people. One of them is Charlie Cheong, a Chinese-Australian photographer and experimental film-maker through whose eyes the death is re-exacted in the past. He is among a group of children who play a dangerous game of chicken on railway tracks. The scene suddenly turns to Cat, a teenage girl and from the wrong side of town whose independent spirit blossoms and disturbs the others.

"The trouble with Cat's kind of power is that there are people who develop a passion to break it," observes Charlie, who works for her. The ones who try to break her are aristocratic boys, including Roberto Garcia, who both loves and loathes Cat. One day, the railway game goes too far, and tragedy follows.

In a masterful scene that depicts how the wheels of society run tangled over the



Hospital's sexual obsessions, corruption

powerless, the authorities find Cat responsible while the real perpetrators escape. She is sent to reform school, an event that begins a long cycle of imprisonment, escape and self-destruction as a stripper and prostitute. The other four tracks of her-Charlie flee to New York City, where Robinson survives, his a son, Gabriel, and becomes a respected judge. It is Gabriel and his lover, Lucy, the prostitute-narrator, who set things in motion again. Gabriel is on his own quest to find Cat, an accidental meeting on a street between his parents and Cat when he was a changed boy led him incorrectly. "The middle kept eating him," Hospital writes of Gabriel's confusion about Cat's role. "He was confused."

Eventually, Gabriel and Charlie collaborate to find Cat. Their search takes them to the

country, to underground systems of caves and tunnels near Sydney, which has been changed by squatters, gangs, prostitutes and drug addicts—and which Hospital compares to Dante's hell. And by linking it to the city's establishment—especially the lawyers, judges, and politicians who frequent it as customers—Hospital creates an unforgettable image of the pervasiveness of violence and the equally strong desire to ignore it. "The quarry is looking into the city, and the city is seeping sideways," she writes. "Everyone knows this, but everyone denies it."

Hospital patches at the bottom of conventional narrative, tracing the same ground from different points of view and superimposing new layers of interpretation. Her technique is close to Charlie's photographic method, which she describes as "instinctual collage." Charlie's photos, which Lucy documents in detail, ultimately provide the clues to what happened to Cat. When Lucy asks the powerfully intuitive Charlie, the magician of the title, why he takes so many pictures, he responds, "So that I will see what I have seen." His magnetic explanation suggests that through the conscious mind's suppression are superior.

Richly allusive, *The Last Magkian's* plot sometimes threatens to disappear amid all the literary sleight of hand. But the consciousness of the prose—and the unforgettable stage of the quarry—start this corporate, illustrated novel book provides ample evidence that she has some impressive tricks up her sleeve.

DIANE TURBIDE

McClean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *The English Patient*, Michael Ondaatje
- 2 *Dead Reckoning*, Alvin Karpis
- 3 *Shakespeare in Love*, Philip Pullman
- 4 *The Children of Men*, P.D. James
- 5 *Dancing Queen*, Frances Taylor
- 6 *A Song for Schubert*, Guy Vanderhaeghe
- 7 *Remains of the Day*, Hilary Mantel
- 8 *The Secret History*, Lisa Klein
- 9 *More Chances of Heaven and the Idea*, George Orwell
- 10 *David's Golem*, King (T)

NONFICTION

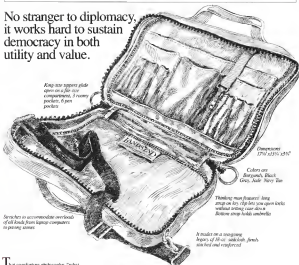
- 1 *Every Living Thing*, Norman Maclean
- 2 *The Silent Passage*, Shirley Geislin
- 3 *The Culture of Communication*, Deborah Tannen
- 4 *Myra's Secret*, David Shields
- 5 *Without Enemies*, David Shields
- 6 *Without Enemies*, David Shields
- 7 *Revelations from Within*, Steven F. Hayward
- 8 *The Book of Secrets*, Peter Dinklage
- 9 *Talk, Talk, Talk*, Jayne (T)
- 10 *Canada 1992*, Peterson (T)

11 *Problems and Solutions*

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LANDS' END



Cry, my beloved country

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

The old man roused his head from his pillow on a sunny afternoon. "Sweet Mr. Fotheringham is here, Mrs. Welch," he instructed his housekeeper. "You'd better bring us something with an alcohol content." This was Bruce Hutchison, the most remarkable Canadian journalist of this century, several weeks before he died.

This was the essential Hutch: pretending to be senile; a mask that disguised his wit, his being a dreary ruse of a world that had gone wrong but still getting some humor out of it. At his only little least cherished of things on the fringe of Victoria he was glad to see the scribbler he used to label "the frenzied Aussie demagogue of West Coast newspaper."

Hutchison was an idiot to those of us who knew him, not only for the ludicrous case of his writing but for the extraordinary—extraordinary—way he conducted his entire career. The world was never going to be the office. A general! No senior-literate editors to deal with. No fools at the next desk. No sipping accented badinage over some expensive accent.

He became internationally famous, while staying in his beloved cottage at Stranmillis Lake on Vancouver Island and chipping wood he edited the *Whispering Post* at one time and *The Vancouver Sun* at another by understanding there was a thing called the telephone: you didn't have to go outside to get under. He was the first journalist to reach one—us everyone with computers now does—that you don't have to leave home.

His mind is still as sharp as ever, demanding the latest source under Constellation, worrying over a colleague whose wife is very sick, wondering suddenly why ever it is going to happen to his country. He dismisses the conversation as usual.

Hutchison with a high school education wanted to be like Pierre Berton after him a cartoonist. As a young man he supported himself by selling pictures illustrated by him self, to the popular magazines in New York. For decades he held a column as the respected *Christian Science* Minister of Boston—his dispatches peeked out two finger style on the



battered Underwood by the woodpile.

After a half-hour, Mrs. Welch, who is "probably 83," brings a large bottle of Harney Weber Special Oldry whiskey in a tin can to the bedside table. Hutch pours himself a healthy, doing and orders his waiter to run his own piece. Mrs. Welch settles for a Dietmeyer.

He tells of a car trip more than a decade ago when he and Mrs. Welch set out to drive from Ottawa to Victoria. Along about noon they would pull to the side of a gravel road and Mrs. Welch would introduce him to her favorite apple. "There are two useful things about Dietmeyer," he explains. "That I found out you don't need ice and you don't need coast."

On the walls of the Victoria Press Gallery are the private official photographs of the man, going back to the 1930s. There are the overworked and weather-beaten old pros and these is the young Hutchison, all trends and serious gaze. The studios and studios

young reporter, on his way to becoming a collection of prose materials, never tasted a drop of liquor until he was 49.

There is the famous story of the long Victoria Press Gallery, in Prohibition days being asked to attend a well-oiled legislative banquet where they fell into the grape with some slanders.

All five of his upcoming novels, records Hutchison in his memoirs. "I lay down on the floor and went to sleep, which led me to believe they were drunk." The youthful and substantial babe of the gallery (thereupon set down and wrote five separate stories for their Vancouver clients, each one in the varying style and political slant of the sleeping men, searched down to put them on the midnight ferry to Vancouver—and saved five jobs.

He once advised me on the meaning of success. At the end of your life, he explained, take all your friends and multiply by nine and divide by six and if you have two close friends you have been a success.

The sunlight streaks through the trees into the main door bedroom. The father died in his room and his mother died in his room and he lived in control at the end of a prodigious life. Above his bed are mementos of his first love—two framed cartoons of himself, one perhaps from a "gossip." "I've always thought of him in a poem," says Mrs. Welch.

Hutch was the only person ever mentioned with the possible exception of Stephen Lewis, who speaks in a manner so that you cannot only see the paragraph, you can sense the beginning and end of sentences—the American. Every year after doing his round of world capitals, he would inform us from the waters, he would drop off at the Vancouver Sun on his way through airports on the way to the woodpile.

Publisher Stuart Keppel would ask him if perhaps he might share his insights with the editorial writers. Hutch, still wearing the borrowed fedora that was his trademark, would tilt his chair back, gaze at the ceiling and stare up his fingers from Ottawa, Washington, London and wherever—all in that same contrived tone where you could see and hear the punctuation. Two days later you'd pick up the paper and there was his column, exactly as he had composed it as he had, and if someone had overheard his thoughts.

An hour is now ending and Hutch is trying to be accurate in his final way, writing down on the country's future. In fact, he was the greatest writer in Canada. "I don't need to live any longer," Fotheringham, he stated. "Twenty-one years is long enough for Christ's sake." No it wasn't. Not for him it wasn't.

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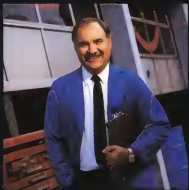
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